



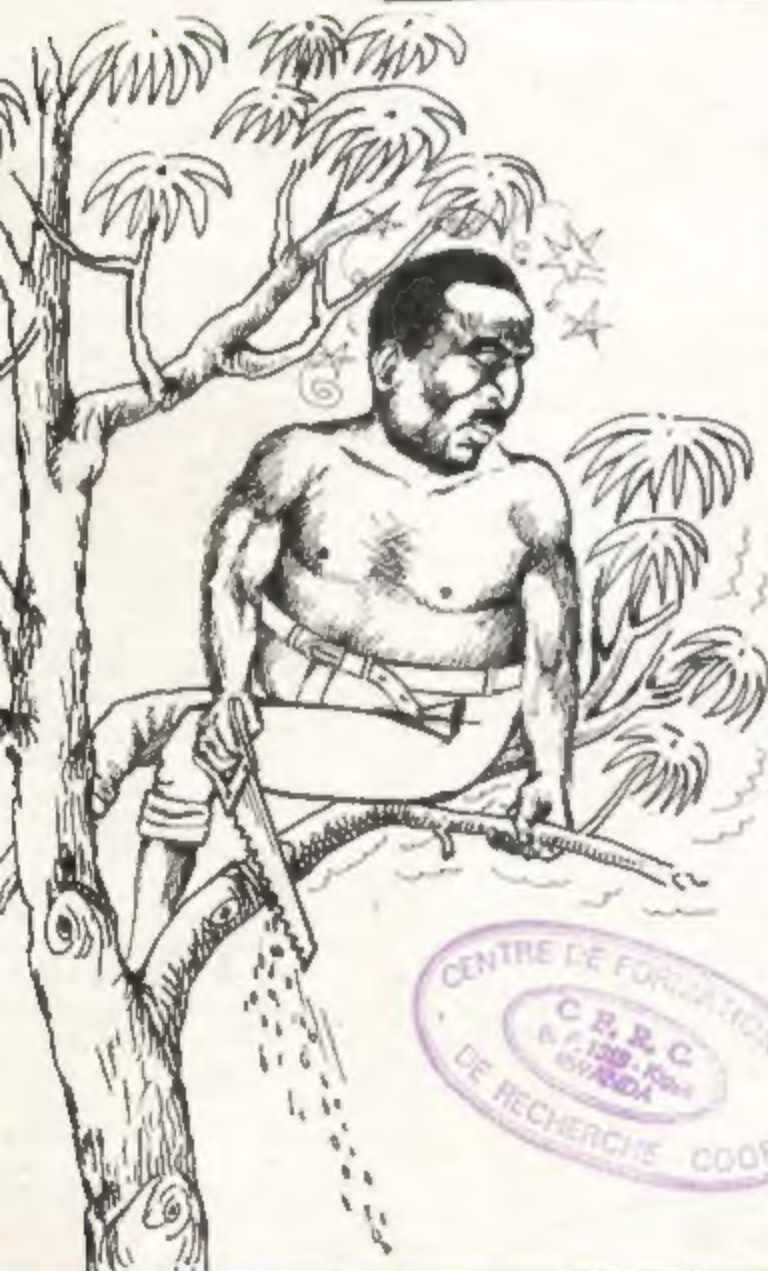
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**IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO
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GITERA ATI :

**«UMUGOME NI UWO
MUTUTSI UHORA
YIKUZA»**

—GOMN, umutwe w'abasirikari ushinze gukorera Inkotanyi

—HABYARIMANA yaba abitekerazaho iki ?

—Radiyo Rwanda igeze aho gutinya kuvuga ijambo «inyenzi» !

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ukuvuga ko ubu bitagishobotse ? Nyamara birashoboka cyane kuko ari nta gihe cya ngombwa cyo kuguma byanze bikunze ku butegetsi; kwegura biteganyijwe mu itegeko—Nshinga no mu yandi mategeko. Ahubwo abambari be n'abandi bakungahajwe n'ingoma ye niba bamugira inama yo gukomeza gutegeka kugira ngo babone uko bakomeza kwirira no kuzingitiranya amarorerwa baba barakoreye igihugu n'abagituye.

Hari abashobora kwitwaza ko tukiri mu ntambara, ko Perezida atagomba gutererana abanyarwanda muri ako kaga. Nyamara ibyo ntacyo bivuze kuko atari we kamara, uwamusimbura yakomeza imirimo y'igihugu yose. None se ko intambara yo mu kwakira 1990 yarose ari hanze abasigaye ntibayoboye urugamba ? Ko inkotanyi zongaye gutera minisitiri Gasana w'ingabo ari Arusha byabujije se inzira bwoba gukora akazi kazo ? Abandi ngo twasubiranamo turwanira ubutegetsi. Kubera se iki kandi amategeko ateganyaye uko bigomba kugenda ? Erega umuntu avugwa cyangwa akomera ari uko akiri ku isonga y'ubutegetsi ! Na Habyarimana avuyeho ntawakongera kumwitaho, yaba umuturage nk'abandi. Ahubwo uwamusimbura niwe twahanga amaso. Ninde ugishyira mu majwi Nsekaliye, Nzirorera n'ibindi bihangange byari byaramamajwe muri uru Rwanda ?

Abandi bati yeguye yaba atabye mu nama MRND ye ngo kuko yabura abayoboke. Cyereka niba nawe yari ahagarariye ishyamba ritagira imizi ihamye. Nyamara wenda niho ryarushaho kugira ingufu kuko riba ritakigendera ku muntu umwe. Hariho abarizibukira ariko abasigaye baba koko intarumikwa muri ryo. Bajye barebera kuri CDR; nta muntu n'uyu cyangwa ubutegetsi yishingikirijeho ariko uko iminsi ihita niko igenda itsinda ibitego. Ntiyaba abaye n'ikigwari mu kwanga kugira uwo bahangana muri uru ruhando rw'amashyamba menshi. Ahubwo yaba agaragaje ubutwari no kutikubira abererekeye n'abandi ku butegetsi bw'ikirenga.

Ariko se yapfa kugenda gu-saa, aho abamuhigaga bamugere—kaho amahano atazi amavu n'amavuko ntibababonye urwaho rwo kumugirira nabi ? Biterwa n'uko aba nawe yateguye iyegura rye kandi ndibwira ko Leta ifite inshingano yo gushyiraho amategeko abonyeye yo kurengera abahoze ari abakuru b'igihugu, nko kurinda umutekano wabo no kwita bihagije ku mibereho myiza yabo. Kandi nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru, ntawakongera kwibuka ko yategetse. Ubu se Nyerere, Senghor, Kaunda, Kérékou n'abandi bahoze ari abaperezida ntibamerewe neza ? Gusa ntutuzi neza niba Habyarimana yaba yateguye umuntu WE wo kumusimbura bibaye ngombwa cyangwa abyishakiye ubwe. Kuko nabwo igihe hashyirwaho uwo bafitanye inzigo y'injyanamuntu maze akamwihimuraho.

Kuki se akwiye kwegura ? Abanyarwanda n'igihugu cyose bahunze iki ? Iryo ni ihurizo ryasubizwa ku buryo bunyuranye bitewe n'uko buri wese abyumva. Gusa abantu bagombye kwiyumvisha ko ntawavukanye imbuto yo gutegeka ubuziraherezo. Umuntu umwe nta n'icyo avuze imbere ya rubanda rwose. Ni nayo mpamvu twagombye twese kwamagana imyifatire y'ubugome buvanye n'ubwenge buke bw'abataye roho nka Kanyaragwe, Pasteur n'abandi biyemeza gukotana n'inyenzi ngo ni ukugira ngo bahirike Habyarimana. Aho gutsemba imbaga washaka uburyo bwose, kandi ntibubuze, bwo kwivugana wa wundi umwe ushaka. Yakunaniye ukabiyahorera byose. Ntiwahanirira n'inyungu z'akarere kawe — dore ngo ko nako kagezweho — ushyigikira inkoramaramaso zo muri FPR nawe zitakurebera izuba.

Kuri Habyarimana hari impamvu nyinshi zatumye yegura. Ariko tubyumvikaneho, si ukuvuga ko ugereraniye n'ahandi mu Rwanda ari nta kigenda. Ndetse ahubwo wabwirira Perezida wacu mu butegetsi bo muri Afurika bitwaye neza mu byobozi bw'abo bashinzwe no muri ibi bihe by'amashyamba menshi. icyakora nyine ntibigomba kuba

intandaro y'ubukonde. Imyaka makumyabiri ku butegetsi irahagije. N'umuburugumesitiri cyangwa umuperefe iyo abumazeho igihe kirekire ageraho akarambirana. Ni no gusuzugura abenegihugu wagira ngo babuze undi muntu wabategeka. Haziramo n'umunaniro, gukundwaka buri gihe agatsiko k'abantu bamwe gusa no kudatera imbere mu bitekerezo no mu mikorere.

Niba ari ugusaza cyangwa se ari ko asanzwe ateye ubona Jenerali atikangarira bihagije, adashimangira ingoma ye nk'uko bikwiye. Hari n'abakibaza ukuntu yatekereje gukora (cyangwa gukoresha) kudeta yavanyeho Kayibanda. Mu ntambara yerekanye ubwoba n'ikiniga (byagaragariraga mu mibonano yagiranaga n'abanyamahanga) no kudashikama ku byifuzo by'u Rwanda ukaba wagira ngo nirwo rwari mu makosa maze bigatiza inkotanyi umurindi. Yatinye kuvuga rugikubita ko twatwe n'ikindi gihugu ari cyo Uganda; yihutira ahubwo kwemera ibyo FPR n'abayishyigikiye bifuzaga kandi yagombye kumanya neza ko bamuryarya.

Mu mashyamba menshi ho byabaye umwaku; yifashe neza imbere y'abamurwanya maze atera umugongo abayoboke be n'abandi batamutanga nka bya byitso bya za nyenzi byamubujije amahwemo. Yivuguruzaga uko bwije n'uko bukeye ku buryo ari ntawe ukimwizera cyane.

Uyu muni ati amasezerano yo kuwa 30/10/92 n'ayo kuwa 9/1/93 agomba gusubirwamo kuko ateye nabi; bwacya akayemera hatavungutseho n'inyuguti n'imwe ndetse agashaka ko hakwigwira vuba uburyo yashyirwaga mu bikorwa. Ni akumiro ! Ibyo bya Kazimiri na Ngirumpatse batangaje uwo mutwari bagitinye akabivugururiza mu bikorwa, abarwanashyamba be bakifata impungenge... Koko amahanga — agendera kuri poropagande y'ibinyoma y'inkotanyi — azamurisha n'uburozi ngo ni ukugira ngo ayaashimishe ? Niba we abayemera imbaga nyamwinshi y'abanyarwanda yo ntibishyigikiye.

Zimwe mu nyungu zo kwegura kwa Habyarimana rero ni uko igihugu cyahumeka umwuka mushya. Ntawateganya neza uko uwo mwuka waba uteye by'ukuri, ariko waba udasanze. Abamurwanya ntibazaba bakibonye urundi rwitwazo rwo guteza imvururu n'akaduruvayo mu gihugu nk'uko amashyaka MDR, PSD na PL babigize ihame babyongorewe na FPR n'ibitso byayo. Za mitingi zizabwira abatwaga amatwara ya buri shyaka aho kwibanda gusa mu gutuka no gusebya Habyarimana. Radiyo Ndegejeho na bya binyabinyoma ngo ni ibinyamakuru bikoresheye n'ibitso by'inkotanyi ntibazongera kwiharanga ngo ni Jenerali ubangamiye amahoro, ubukungu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage.

Na FPR—inyenzi—inkotanyi—tutsi ishyize mu gaciro yahita ihagarika intambara yashoje n'ubu kandi igikomezanya ubugizi bwa nabi butihishira. Ariko yo ni ukuyitondera kuko itarwanya umuntu ku giti cye,

yaba Kayibanda, Habyarimana cyangwa Nsengiyaremye (uyu ishaka gushyira mu kwaha). FPR yo igamije guhirika ingoma yose y'umuhutu kugira ngo igarure ubutegetsi bwa Gatutsi n'ibibi byabwo byose nk'uko ibigaragariza muri iyi ntambara yoreka imbaga y'abahutu urw'agashinyaguro. Byari bikwiye no kubera isomo amashyaka yiha gufata n'uwu mwanzu. Ntabwo amashyamba zayo zitoranya amashyamba cyangwa uturere.

Amahanga nayo yakwagirana amaboko yombi umutware mushya kuko azaba akiri umuziranenge, mu gihe nawe bataramuharabika. Za mfashanyo yatekerezaga guhagarika ahubwo zizongerwa kugira ngo leta igezweho nayo yirwarize. Abanyaburayi na Amerika bazafasha u Rwanda «rushya» kwumvisha za nyabusa z'inkotanyi igikwiye. Aho ho bizaba ari ukugosorera mu rukamba kuko intego yazo ari imwe rukumbi : gufata ubutegetsi bwose no kugira umuhutu inga-

ruzwamabombe zihereye kuri bariya bagambanyi bakorana nazo buhumyi.

Hanyuma se yasimburwa nande? Ubusanzwe muri demokarasi twese duhoza ku rurimi ariko mu bikorwa tukayiniga amatora niyo kamarampaka nziza yo kwihitiramo abayobozi. Amashyamba yose yagombye noneho kuyemera kuko Habyarimana azaba yakuyemo ake karengye, bityo ntazaba akifafitse nk'uko babitinyaga. Yabanza ariko kwipakurura ubucuti amwe afitanywe na cya cyago FPR kuko cyo kitifuza amatora na busa kandi ntawakirenganya kuko kitabona intebe mu Rwanda. Ayo matora yaba mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi no mu bagize inteko y'abapite. Twaba tunasozereye neza iyi rwaserera ya za guverinoma z'inziyabacyaho itera impaka zitarangira n'ibibazo by'ingutu mu butegetsi no mu mibereho ya rubanda.

Ndekezi Bonaparte.

Arusha, Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salaam.... nta muti nta rukingo.

Abumvishije amagambo Minisitiri w'Intebe, Dismasi Nsengiyaremye yatangaje avuye i Dar-Es-Salam tariki ya 7 Werurwe, ntibibujije gutangara. Ari nako bumwe. Batangajwe n'ikinyoma cy'umukuru wa Guverinoma, wijeje abanyarwanda ko intambara irangiye. Abashya abanywe mu byabo n'intambara ko bagiyeye kubisubiramo vuba aha... Nyamara ukuri kugaragaza ko imishyikirano Nsengiyaremye yagiranye na Kanyarengwe i Dar-Es-Salaam, ari amacenga n'uburyarya bwa FPR yagaragaje kuva i N'sele, Arusha, Bujumbura, kugera i Dar-Es-Salaam. Ubwo buryarya nibwo Nsengiyaremye akomeje kwita «amasezerano y'amahoro».

Ibija gupfa bipfa kare. Inyenzi zigize gutya zirengagiza ibyari bigiye kugerwaho mu mishyikirano y'i Arusha, zigabye ibitero simusiga mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba. Impamvu FPR yatanze isobanura iby-

byo bitere ntutuzitindaho. Amarorerwa inyenzi zakozwe mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba ntaho yaduhishe. Cyo-

kora yatweretse ko inyenzi zidakina. Imyanya yose bari bazemereye i Arusha ntacyo izibwiye ngo ke-



retse zihariye ubutegetsi zonyine. Museveni ntiyafashe Kampala, Okello yamwemereye umwanya wa visi-Perezida ? Mumbwire namwe ibyo turimo ngo turashyikirana n'inyenzi ?

Burya koko ibijya gupfa mu itangiro. Ngizo za N'sale, Arusha (ibyo ciro bine!), Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salaam... Aho hose ngo ni ugushaka amahoro. Ntitukamenye ko umwanzu w'iyifitiye indi migambi, igiteye impungenge ni uko iyo mishyikirano yose igenda ivuguruzanya kandi ihuje abantu bamwe, FPR na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. N'ibyo bemeranije inyenzi zikabirengaho. Nsengiyaremye rero arasetse iyo avuga ngo impande zombi zimaze gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro i Dar-Es-Salaam. Nyamara twari tuzi ko inama zabereye i Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salaam, ari ibiganiro atari imishyikirano. Ubwo rero bihindutse, imishyikirano, Arusha imaze iki ? Dore ko Nsengiyaremye yabaye nk'ubwira abanyarwanda ko intambara ayirangirije i Dar-Es-Salaam.

Nsengiyaremye agomba kuba atazi Museveni n'inkotanyi ze. I Dar-Es-Salaam bamweretse «balinginga» agirango intambara irahagaze. Urebye gahunda yafatiwe i Dar-Es-Salaam wakwibaza icyo guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yari itegereje ngo itange wa «muti» w'intambara yakangishaga abanyarwanda. Niba atari ubuswa yisanganiwe, veterineri Nsengiyaremye agomba kuba ari n'umutesi. Aranasetsa cyane!

Umuntu wemeza ko imirwano izahagarara tariki iyi n'iyi (ku wa kabiri tariki ya 9 Werurwe), isaha iyi n'iyi (saa sita z'ijoro) ngo ni uko inkotanyi zabimubwiye. Ni ryari se zitanze gahunda ntiziyubahirize? Inyenzi ntizeretse Nsengiyaremye aho zibera mbi zigaba igitero muri Nkumba ku wa mbere tariki 8 Werurwe ! Nawe ngo intambara izahagarara...

Inyenzi zategutse Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye kongera kurindagira mu mishyikirano i Arusha bitarenze tariki ya 15 Werurwe 1993. «Amasezerano» akaba agomba gu-

shyirwaho umukono mu cyumweru cya mbere cy'ukwezi kwa kane. Gahunda yaturutse i Dar-Es-Salaam inatubwira ko «ingabo z'amahanga zigomba kuva mu Rwanda uretse iz'Abafaransa. Kanyarengwe wasinyiye i Bujumbura ko Abafaransa ari abanzi bagomba kwirukanwa mu gihugu cyacu «yemeye» noneho ko abo bafaransa bari mu rwego rw'ubutwererane buri hagati y'u Rwanda n'icyo gihugu. Abasagutse bakaba bacunga umutekano w'abanyamahanga. Aka kanya FPR ihinze imvugo ? Yo yemezaga ko abo bafaransa barwana ku ruhande rw'ingabo z'u Rwanda ! Ntacyo ariko kuko ari u Rwanda ruhazamukira.

Uburyarya bwa FPR bukarira aho ibeshya ko inyenzi zateye tariki ya 8 Gashyantare zizaba aho zafashe, «zikisubiza» mu birindiro zahozemo mbere. Ntawe uzakuye i izo mpuhwe...

Aho Nsengiyaremye aca agahigo mu gushinyagura ni aho yemeza ko abavanywe mu byabo n'iyi ntambara bazabisubiramokomwe ngo azabashyira mu gace kazasigara hagati y'ingabo z'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi. Aho gace akanatwizeza ko kazaba kagenzwe n'ingabo z'amahanga (OUA) cyangwa za (ONU) nanone zidafite aho zibogamiye. Intambara ikarangira icyo. Sinjye wahere hahere Nsengiyaremye n'ubuswa bwe !

Nsengiyaremye acishije mu ga-

ciro abona koko ko inkotanyi zahozemo mbere ntawe uzakuye. Nizo se zitishimiye ko igihugu cyazo basigaye bita «inkotanyiland» cyakura ? Twemere da ko inkotanyi zisubije mu birindiro zahozemo mbere, izo ingabo z'amahanga bavuga zizava he ? Zizaza ryari ? Zizakora iki iza mbere zitakozwe ?

Naho kuvuga ko abavanywe mu byabo n'iyi ntambara bazabisubizwamo ni ukwibeshya kuko hari amakomini menshi inkotanyi zari zifitamo ibirindiro mbere y'uko zubura imirwano muri Gashyantare. Cyeretse ahari zisubije ubwazo muri Uganda. Kandi gushyira abo bantu bangara hagati y'ingabo zishyamiye ni nko kubaroha kuko nta mutekano bazigera bagira, bazahora baraswaho, inkotanyi zizakomeza kubiraramo zibice nk'uko bimeze ubu. Ntabwo rero ari ingabo z'amahanga zabakingira. Uretse ko zizaba ari na nkeya, nta n'ubwo zabishobora.

Ibihe turimo bisa n'ibyo ubutegetsi bwa Tito Okello bwarimo igihe Museveni yari hafi gucakira Kampala mu w'1986. Uwo musaza Okello, bamwijeje ibitangaza i Nairobi kugeza naho aharira Museveni umwanya wa visi-Perezida, ashiduka byarangiyeye akizwa n'amaguru. Na Habyarimana se nibyo ashakaga ? Dore zageze i Tare, niba ari uhunga yafata utwangushye !

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UMWANA WA NGULINZIRA SI NK'ABANDI

Igihe za nkoramaraso z'inyenzi inkotanyi zarasukiraga mu Ruhengeri ku bugambanyi bw'ibitso byiganje mu Rwanda hose, abanyeshuri barenze magana arindwi bo ku Musanze bakwiye imishyamba. Ubu bose bari hanze uretse rero uwa Nyakubahwa Minisitiri Ngulinzira wokerewe na munyanyu we w'umw'ishyamba Agata wamize isoni bunguri akarangwa n'ubugome burusha ubumara ubwa FPR - kwiga muri Lycée de Kigali.

Ni amahano kubona umwana wa Minisitiri muzima ariwe ugirirwa impuhwe nkaho ise abuze amafaranga yo kumurihira mu mashuri yigenga

cyangwa mu y'amahanga. Iyo baha ako kanya umwana w'umukene nyakujya byo ahari byari kugira inzira. Ariko nabyo ntibyababwirakomeye kuko ikibazo kireba abo bana bose bakuwe mu mashuri n'inkotanyi. Agata na Ngulinzira baba ahubwo baritonze gato bakabonera urwo rubyiruko rwose umuti w'ibibazo rurimo aho gusebesha MINEPRISEC n'ubutegetsi bajumbururamo abana bamwe bamwe b'ibikomerezwa. Harya ngo MDR yaje irwanya akarengane n'uburyamirane ? Tuzabirebera ku myifatire no ku mikorere y'abambari bayo.... !

NY. P. /Etudiante au L.K.

Museveni akomeje kwitiranya u Rwanda na Uganda.

U Rwanda si Uganda, kandi ubutegetsi buriho, niyo bwaba atari shya-shya si kimwe n'ubwari muri Uganda kubwa Idi Amin, Obote cyangwase Tito Okello. Aha rero niho Museveni yibeshyera. Kuko usanga uburyo Inkotanyi zakoresheje zigitera kandi zigikoresheye.

resha busa neza neza n'ubw'inyeshyamba za Museveni zakoresheje zifata Kampala mu w'1986. icyo gihe inyeshyamba za Museveni zabanje kujegaza ubutegetsi bwariho muri Uganda zibwagisha abaturage. Inyeshyamba za Museveni zakoresheje iterabwoba, zica abaturage ku buryo umutekano wabaye muke cyane, abaturage bagahora mu kintu cy'ubwoba.

Zikurikizaho kujya mu mishyikirano i Nayirobi bya nyirarushwa naho ubwo zisuganyaga kugeza igihe zibushyikiriyemo. Museveni amenye rero ko uwo mutwe ushaje. Abanyarwanda (abahutu) bari maso, biyemeje gufatanyaga n'ingabo zabo bagahashya umwanzi n'ibitso bye.

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NSENGIYAREMYE ARAKINA MU BIKOMEYE

Bajya bavuye ngo imana yirirwa ahandi igatanga i Rwanda. Muri ibi bihe ariko, umenya iyo Mana idaheruka ino. Kuko iyo bitaba ibyo yadukiza abanzi bakomeje kudutera, ikanaduhanka abagambanyi nka Nsengiyaremye. Nsengiyaremye niba koko "asenga iyamuremye", igihe kirageze ngo aye muri penetensiya akihana ibyaha yakoreye kandi agikorera iki gihugu kuva yaterewe ku ntebe y'ubutware. Urwobo Ministiri w'Intebe yarashyemo uru Rwanda rugana urwo inyenzi Kigeli V Ndahindurwa yarusizemo mu w'1959 naho ureke ibyo babeshyeye Kayibanda.

Amahirwe abanyarwanda bagifite ni uko guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye ishigaye igihe gito. Dore ko manda y'iyi guverinoma yagaragaye "ingufu" mu bugambanyi izarangira ejo bundi mu kwezi kwa kane 1993. Naho ubundi abanyarwanda bashiduka igihugu cyabo Nsengiyaremye yacyometse kuri Uganda. Kuba Nsengiyaremye n'ishyamba ryakoranye n'Inkotanyi, byari amahirwe kuko dukwaga ko yari kuzingira zikaba ziretse kudutera mu gihe twari dutegereje ikizava Arusha. Cyokora ibitero inkotanyi zagabye mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba byatweretse ko nta wazizera. Nta gihe tutabwiye Nsengiyaremye na bagenzi be ko kungubwira umuntu umututsi (cyane cyane w'inyenzi) ari nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba. Nsengiyaremye nawe yarabyibonye kandi arababizi kuturusha dore ko nawe ari "inkuba".

Ibitero inyenzi zihutse kugaba mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba byatweretse kandi ko tutagomba gukomeza kwishyamba Nsengiyaremye ukomeje kwitwara nk'umwana w'igihamba-mbaga. Ibihe tugezemo si ibyo gukina kuko twazabyumva dushaje.

Mu ijamba Ministiri w'Intebe aherutse kugeza ku banyarwanda, twari twizeye ko noneho agiye kwamagana ubugome bw'inkotanyi nawe yibonye. Si bwo twumirwemo Veterineri wa-

we, uretse no kwamagana Inkotanyi, yahindukiranye abanyarwanda abumvisha ko ngo igihe cy'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu n'imbunda cyarangiye. Mu gihe abasirikari bahatanaga ku rugamba, abaturage mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba inkotanyi zabamaze. Nsengiyaremye we ngo ntawe ugomba kwitwaza intambara ngo anige demokarasi. Aho guha abaturage banga-ba, babuze iyo bagana ka "pole". Nsengiyaremye ngo intambara ntigomba guhagarika ubuzima! Ngo igihe cyo guhiga ibyitso cyarangiye. Kuri we abari ku rugamba ngo bari ku kazi kabo, abandi nabo bari ku kabo.



Hari uwigeze kuvuga ati uwafata Nsengiyaremye, ukamushyira muri kajujuju, ukamutereka muri Komini Kinigi cyangwa se muri Kivuye, iyo za Byumba. Maze tukareba ko yongera gutetse! Rahira ko inkotanyi zitamushahura. Ahari yakwemera ko inkotanyi ari ingome, akumva icyo ubutegetsi bw'imbunda icyo ari cyo. Nibwo yabona demokarasi y'inyenzi icyo ari cyo. Nibwo yakumva kandi akibonye ukuntu inyenzi ari "abavandimwe". Nsengiyaremye yari akwiye gukura akareka gukina mu bikomeye. Nta kuntu wakohereza abasirikari kurwana n'inyenzi iyo ku mipaka, usize izindi-

imbere mu gihugu. Kuki ibyitso bitashakishwa? kuki amarondo atakorwa? Kuki mitingiri z'amashyamba zitahagararira? Tukabanza tukarwana intambara y'amasasu, iy'amagamba ikazaza nyuma. Nsengiyaremye ngo mitingiri z'amashyamba nizekomeze mu turere tutabwira imirwano! Ubwo ni uburyo bwo kumvisha abaturage batuye aho inyenzi zibasiye ngo birwarize. Nyamara se uretse ko inyenzi zataye ziturutse mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda, umunsi zaturutse mu majyepfo biza-genda gute? Nabo bazirwarize!

Ibitero by'inyenzi mu Ruhengeri na Byumba byatumye abantu bibaza ibyo turimo Arusha ngo ni imishyikirano. Gushyikirana ni ngombwa kuko intambara yica, igasenywa. Ariko imishyikirano ntigomba kuba uburyo bwo kugabiza igihugu inyeshyamba zidafite n'ubushake bwo gushyikirana. Ibyo Nguvuzira yasinyiye (n'ubwo bidashobora gushyirwa mu bikorwa), nti-byari bihagije ngo inyenzi zishimwe? Ariko se ntimwabonye ibyo zakozwe?

Inyenzi nkuru Kagame (benshi bita Kagame kubera ubugome bwe) yemeza ko inyenzi zitera Byumba na Ruhengeri zari zije guhorera abagagwe (ubwoko bwa kanel) n'abatutsi baguye mu mvururu zihutse kubera mu maperegegitura ya Ruhengeri, Gisenyi na Kibuye. Hazagire rero uwongera kuvuye ko FPR atari ishyamba ry'abatutsi, rirwanira abatutsi?

Iyo Nsengiyaremye aba umuntu ushyira mu gaciro, yasabye Guverinoma ya guhagarika imishyikirano y'Arusha. Nta kuntu umuntu yaza akaguhakura, warangiza mukicarana ku meza amwe ngo murareba ukuntu yazagaruka (kwica)! Ikindi kitumvikana muri iriya mishyikirano ni uko abayirimo (cyane cyane intumwa za Guverinoma y'u Rwanda), batajya batungaga agatoki abategetsi ba Uganda kandi aribo bagize uruhare runini muri iyi intambara. Kandi baracyakomeze. Intumwa za guverinoma y'u Rwanda

mu mishyikirano y'Arusha zagombye gusaba Perezida wa Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, kwerura, akabwira amahanga niba akomeje gufasha inkotanyi, u Rwanda harwo rukamenya neza uko rwakwifata. Hari umusirikari uri ku rugamba i Byumba uherutse kuvuga ati uretse ibibazo bya politiki naho ubundi inkotanyi twazigeze i Kabale. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda niba koko ishaka amahoro yari ikwiye guha uruhushya ingabo zacu zikagarura ubufasha bw'u Rwanda bwose. Byaba na ngombwa zigakurikira umwanzi no

mu ndiri, , andi irazwi. Naho ubundi nta kuntu intambara yafata irangiye. Inkotanyi zizakomeza zitere, nizitsindwa zisubirira muri Uganda ziruhuke. Biriya by'imishyikirano birazifasha cyane. Imishyikirano ituma zisuganyika, ikanatuma zimenyekanaga cyane dore ko ari uburyo bwiza bwo kwiyamamaza. Kuko ku munyamahanga, kuba u Rwanda rwemera gusiragira Arusha ari uko rwemera ko inkotanyi nazo zifite ingufu, mbese habuze uwatsinda n'uwatsindwa, kandi atari ko bimeze.

Abategetsi b'u Rwanda, ntibari bakwiye kwishyira amahanga. Iyi ntambara ntizarangirizwa Arusha, Ad-dis Abeba cyangwa se ahandi. Dore ko byanagaragaye ko uretse n'umuryango w'abibumbye (ONU), umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA), nta ntambara n'imwe wigeze ukemura mu mateka y'Afurika. Liberiya, Somaliya, Angola Mozambique, Sudani bitubere urugero. None se akimuhana ntikaza imvura ihise?

KANGURA

RADIYO RWANDA IGEZE AHO GUTINYA KUVUGA IJAMBO «INZENZI»!

Minisitiri w'itangazamakuru, akaba n'umumotsi wa guverinoma, Pascal Bayironi Ndengejeho, niwe uherutse kuvuga ngo Radiyo Rwanda ni radiyo y'amahoro. Iryo jambo ryateye abantu benshi kwibaza ku mikorere ya Radiyo y'igihugu cyane cyane muri iki gihe iri mu maboko y'ishyamba abahanga basigaye bita iry'umushyamba MDR-FPR. Muri Kangura n° 39 twabwiye abasomyi bacu ko Radiyo Rwanda isigaye ari Radiyo Muhabura, ishamba ryayo (station relais) rivugira i Kigali. Bamwe babifasheho urwenya, abandi ngo ni ugusebanyaye Nyamara ukuri kuragenda gutsinda, ariko kugenda kugaragara. Ibitero inyenzi zagabye mu Ruhengeri na Byumba byatweretse ko Radiyo y'igihugu umwanzi ayifite mu ntoki ze.

Inkotanyi zitera i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, utaritonde ngo ategere amatwi neza, byaramutonde kugira ngo amenye niba ari inyenzi zongeye kugaba ibitero. Umunyamakuru wa Radiyo Rwanda (tuyite gutyo ntawashobora) yatumenyesheje ko abasirikari b'u Rwanda bahanganye n'abasirikari ba FPR. Abenshi bagize ngo ni undi mwanzi wigabije igihugu kandi ari inyenzi (izi tuzi). Radiyo Rwanda yahaye amapeti ikazigeza ku rwego rw'abasirikari zivuye ku bunyeshyamba. Radiyo Rwanda ngo isigaye ari Radiyo y'amahoro. Ngo ni Radiyo iteranyira abanyarwanda!

Uwazuye ayo magambo niba atari ubwenge buke yisanganiye cyangwa se atari icyo akora, ni umucanashuri mu bandi bacanashuri. Kandi ntibitangaje. Ubundi se ni ryari Radiyo Rwanda itigeze ibira Radiyo y'amahoro? Ni ryari yigeze iteranyira abanyarwanda? icyo tuzi Radiyo Rwanda yakozwe ni uko buri gi-

he yagiye yifatanyira n'abanyarwanda guhangana n'ibibazo bahuye nabyo, ari iby'ubukene cyangwa se ibyo mu rwego rwa politiki. Ni muri urwo rwego rero inyenzi ziteye mu Kwakira 1990 Radiyo Rwanda yifatanyije n'abanyarwanda, bashyigikiye ingabo z'igihugu zihashyira inyenzi. Ingabo zarwanye iy'amasasu, Radiyo Rwanda (itangazamakuru rya leta muri rusange na Kangura) irwana iy'ibitekerezo. Inyenzi zitsindwa hose. Sinzi rero niba ibi ari byo twakwite guteranyira abanyarwanda!

Pascal Ndengejeho, hari byinshi yiyibagiza. Radiyo y'igihugu, ikinyamakuru cy'eta, Televiziyo y'igihugu bikorera igihugu, bikarengera inyungu z'igihugu. Azabaze bazamusobanurira. Hose niko bigenda. No mu bihugu byadutanzwe amajyambere niko bimeze. Ntuzumva na rimwe nka RFI, ivugaga nabi Ubufaransa, Deutsch Welle ivugaga nabi Ubudage, VOA ivugaga nabi leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, BBC ivugaga nabi Ubwongereza, ntibishoboka. Hari abantu bigeze gusaba ko RFI yashyirwa mu maboko y'abikorera ku giti cyabo. Maze umutegetsi umwe arababwirako ati: "RFI, c'est la voix de la France éternelle". Ari byo kuvuga ngo icyo Radiyo RFI ni icyo ry'Ubufaransa buhoraho. Si icyo ry'ubushyamba iri niri niyo ryaba irya Perezida wa Repubulika cyangwa Minisitiri w'Intebe. Abantu baragenda igihugu kigasigara.

Ntawe uyobewe uruhare Radiyo Rwanda yagize mu guhashyira inyenzi. Yagiye kenshi ihangana n'inyenzi mu bitekerezo. Muzi mwese ukuntu inkotanyi zari zarifatiye amahanga zaraduteranyije n'inshuti, ziharabika igihugu cyacu. Radiyo Rwanda yashoboye ku-

nyomozwa ibyo binyoma, ishobora kumvisha amahanga harimo n'abafasha, aho ukuri guherereye. Radiyo Rwanda yatije umurindi ingabo z'igihugu, izishyiriraho indirimbo zizongereye "moral". Zaba indirimbo ingabo zihimbaye ubwazo cyangwa se iz'abandi bahanzirirako icyamamaza Bikindi. Radiyo Rwanda yakomeje kugira inama abanyarwanda, ibabwirako umwanzi ateye, uko bahangana nawe.

Radiyo Rwanda yashyigikiye umwanzi kugeza aho avuye ko Radiyo Rwanda ngo ari icya Mabyarimana. Imvamvu ntayindi ni uko yari (Radiyo Rwanda) yarananiye inyenzi. Kuva rero aho MDR yeguriwe Minisitiri y'itangazamakuru, inkotanyi zabanyirye ku rukoma. Kandi ni mu gihe! Inyuma yari yarazishyigikiye zari ziyakikiye. Radiyo Rwanda ihita ibaza neza neza iy'inyenzi, Radiyo Rwanda yunganyiriza Radiyo Muhabura kwamamaza amatwara y'inyenzi... "copie conforme"...

Nubwo intambara yari igikomeye, Radiyo Rwanda yo yihatiye guca intege ingabo z'u Rwanda. Yumvisha abanyarwanda ko intambara idateze kurangira, ko bo n'ingabo zabo batatsinzwe kandi badateze gutsinda inyenzi. Amagambo umwanzi, icyitso, inyenzi, acika mu mvugo y'abanyamakuru. Indirimbo zateraga ingabo z'u Rwanda akanyabugabo barazishyigikiye, zishyirirwa muri "frigo". Mbese Radiyo Rwanda yifatanyira n'abavandimwe kurwanya icyo yita ubutegetsi bw'igihugu, no kuzana demokarasi... Muri uwo murimo, yunganyiriza ibinyamakuru bisanzwe bikorera inkotanyi ku mugaragaro nka Kangura, Rwanda Rushya, La Flambeau, Kibereka n'ibindi. Bi-

Komeza P. 16

NGURINZIRA NA GASANA BAKORAGA IKI ARUSHA ?.....NTACYO.

Bavuga ko Ngulinzira yagamba niye igihugu na rubanda nyamwinshi kuko ubutegetsi bwose yabweguriye FPR, izirana na Repubulika na Demokarasi abishyigikiwemo na ya mashyaka ayiri mu kwaha afite intego yo guhirika ingoma ya Habyarimana akoresheje uburyo bushoboka bwose nubwo byaba ari ugutatira igihango cya Revolisiyo y'1969.

Gasana wa yamurushije gutaha imbokoboko no kudasanganirwa n'ibitutsi byinahi cyangwa imvururu kuko yaje ari ntacyo asinyiye. Nabwo ariko ya mashyaka akorana n'umwanzi azaboneraho umwanya wo gukomeza kubeshyera MRND na Perezida wayo ko aribo badindiza imishyikirano, badashaka amahoro yabaye urwitwazo. Kuri FPR yo byose ni kimwe kuko icyo ishaka ari imirwano yo kuyigeza ku butegetsi nta kindi.

Ubundi mu gihe inkotanyi zacaga ku masezerano yo guhagarika intambara Gasana n'intumwa bajyanye baba barahise basingira akarago ari nta n'uwo bagishije inama maze ibindi bi-

karaba byigirwa i Kigali ho mu Rwanda. Nah'ubundi u Rwanda rusa n'u-rwibwije ibyaha byose kubona rusagariye rugakomeza kuvugana n'umwanzi ? Nabo bahuza ndetse n'umunyamabanga mukuru wa OUA b'abatanzaniya baraturimanganya, nabo babogamiye ku ruhande rwa FPR kimwe na ba basirikare bagize umutwe wa GOMN. Nabo rero ntawabizera.

Gasana yagombaga guhitaza ku-reba uko ingabo ze zihagaze akamenya neza ibyo zikeneye, ibibuze akajya kubishakira mu bihugu by'inshuti. None se nk'ingabo zacu iyo zishirirwa ku masasu no ku bindi bikoreshe bya ngombwa aho Nsabimana yari kubona igihe cyo kuyobora urugamba no kujya gutereta intwari. Perezida wa Repubulika we aza n'uweguye kuri byose. Nko mu minsi ya mbere y'intambara twumvaga ko yagiye mu Misiri, mu Bufaransa, mu Bubiligi, ko yohereje intumwa muri Amerika, Kanada, Ubudage, Afurika y'epfo n'ahandi n'ahandi none nta kindi tumwumvaho uretse disikuru yo guhumuriza ingabo n'imibonano mike agirana na bamwe mu bahagarariye

ibihugu byabomurwanda. Cyerekani-ba abiharira Leta ya Nsengiyaremye abanyarwanda batizewe, cyane cyane ku kibazo cy'inkotanyi....(?)

Tubivuge rero tubisubire ntabwo rwose inyensi zishyikajwe n'imishyikirano iyariyoyose ahubwo zirayikwe-na zitegurira ibitero bya simusiga. Ibyaribyo byose zizi naza ko n'ubwo baziha ibya mirenge abaturage badatse kuzakira no kubana nazo neza. Mu miji wenda ho birashoboka ariko nta akotanyi izoherezwa mu giturage ngo iharare kabiri naho abapolisi na jandarumeri byashyirwa mu maboko ya FPR. Ntabwo umusirikare wasimbutse amasasu y'izo nkenya maze bene wabo bagashirira ku icumu, abandi bagacika amaboko n'amaguru azashobokana na ba bandi bamuhushije. Micombero yarivugiyeye ati : uzompusha njewe sinzomuhusha... ! Ibyo FPR irabizi ni nayo mpamvu idashakira ubutegetsi busangiye. Abanyapolitiki n'abasirikare bacu nibakaze ahubwo umurya wo guhangana nayo aho gukomeza gukikira no kwerekeza ibibazo aho bitari.

Ndekezi Bonaparte.

Radiyo Rwanda igeze...

Ibikurikira urupapuro rwa 15.

UBUGOME BWA MINISITIRI AGATA BURENZE IHANIRO

Akarimi keza ntikabuzamurozi kugarika ingogo. Bigaragarira kuri Minisitiri Uwilingiyimana Agata uvuga ko abana bose ari ab'igihugu, ko aharanira demokarasi ariko mu kuronda akarere n'ishyamba akurusha abazima n'abapfuye. Yagize kwima amashuri abo yita abakiga, ugereranyije n'imyanya bagombaga kubona hakurikijwe iranganiza ridafiteze, none n'abo yayahaye - nabwo basabiwe n'abo muri ya mashyamba yiyunze n'umwanzi - arababurabura afunga ibigo bigamo nka Muramba na Shyira kandi atari ngombwa. Ubu ho arabiyinira ku rukoma kuko inkotanyi zamu-fashije kwirukana abigaga mu mashuri ya Ruhengeri na Byumba. Kugeza uyu muni iyo nkuba yasebyaga Mbangura ngo we akora amashuri menshi y'abemerewe iracyohereza abana na mashuri. Si nk'Umutebo nibura wakurikiza-ga amanota ahubwo iyo Nzambiyakazi yamize isoni yo yihera ab'iwabo gusa n'abasabiwe n'abarwanashyamba ba ya mashyamba y'ingambanyi ariko cyane cyane aba MDR.

LANDO ARASHAKA KUMARIRA KU ISASU ABAKUWE MU BYABO BOSE

Mu ijamba yavugiyeye kuri Radiyo ku itariki ya 18/2/93 Minisitiri Lando, umututsi ukorana bikomeye na FPR-inkotanyi, yasabye ko abakuwe mu byabo n'inyenzi barundanywa hamwe bose ndetse n'abategetsi babo kugira ngo inkotanyi zibone uko zibarasira hamwe nk'uko ziri kubigenza mu duce zihingutsemo ntihagire n'uwo kubara uko byagenze. Nk'ubwo koko Perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri (we) w'Intebe baracyategereje iki kugira ngo bambure uwo mwanzi wa rubanda nyamwinshi Ndasingwa Minisitiri y'imibereho myiza y'abatutsigusa (bambwe y'abaturage). Cyereka niba nabo ari ibyitso bya FPR. Ibyaribyo byose Habyara na Nsenga babe bitegura kuzaryozwa ubuzima bw'izo nzirakarengane zose.

Rukubayihunga Georges.

KANGURA

Gumyusenge Jumapili.

AMADENI YA FPR N'UMUGAMBI WAYO WO KOMEKA U RWANDA KURI UGANDA NIBYO BIDINDIZA IMISHYIKIRANO.

Nta narimwe tutavuze ko inyenzi zidashobora guhemukira ikinyoma. Ndetse muribuka ko mbere y'uko imishyikirano y'i Arusha itangira twari twabivuse. Ibyo ziberutse gukora guhera tariki ya 8 Gashyantare byerekanye ko rwose inyenzi sikundira ikinyoma kurusha byose. Impamvu zitera icyo ngeso ni nyinshi: inyenzi zariye imyenda myinshi zidashobora kwishyura haramutse habaye gusa igabana ry'ubutegetsi. Kereka igihugu cyose zicyeguriwe cyangwa sikacyiha. Ni bwo buryo bwonyine bushoboka kugira ngo zishyure. Aha biragaragara ko ibikorera Arusha n'abandi ari uburyo bwo kurangaza mbere na mbere ingabo z'u Rwanda n'amahanga. Amasazerano yo guhagarika imirwano yo muri Kanama 1991 yakorewe kugira ngo inyenzi zongere zisuganywe, zishake ibikorera n'abantu maze sibutse imirwano. Zabigezeho sitwikiriye imishyikirano ya Arusha.

Abacengera cyane iyi ntambara bemeza ko ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi ariko ku mpande zombi habuze ubihungutse. FPR ifite abahutu b'udukingirizo bayifasha kubeshya amahanga n'aho u Rwanda rwabuze intwari isobanura mu kuri uko iyi ntambara iteye. Iyo ntware igomba kuva hagati ya Perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri w'Intebe. Abo bantu bombi nibobaturuma iyi ntambara itarangiye. Turizera ko umunsi batangirije kuri Radiyo Rwanda ko iyi ntambara ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi itazamara amezi atatu itarangiye. Bitabaye ibyo, iyi ntambara ifite nk'indi myaka itatu imbere yayo.

Gahunda ya Museveni yerekana ko u Rwanda rugomba komeka kuri Uganda. Muri icyo gihe abahutu bombi Nduga no mu Rukiga bazatemagurwaga nta kureba ishyamba barimo cyangwa akamaro bagiriye inyenzi kugira ngo zitsinde. Museveni yabeshye Libiya ko u Rwanda nirumara gufatwa rwo na Uganda bizahita bihinduka igihugu cy'abayisilamu. N'u Burundi ngo bushobora kuzomekwa kuri icyo gihugu.

Banyarwanda mugikunze igihugu cyanyu, muribonera neza ko icyo migambi idashobora kugerwaho habaye igabana ry'ubutegetsi. Tubibutseko hari igitekerezo inkotanyi zigeze gu-

tanga muri Arusha icy'uko Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yakwishyura kimwe cya kabiri cy'amafaranga zakoresheje zirwana. Icyo gitekerezo ntabwo cyatanzweho. Noneho zabonye biteye isoni. Uko biri kose, tuzirikane ko icyo kintu cyavuzwe.

Gr. Kayibanda ati: «ugomera igihugu si umunyarwanda». Twe twatekerezeza ko iriya imishyikirano ya Arusha izabura inyenzi kugomera u Rwanda noneho sikaba Abanyarwanda nk'abandi. Mu kwakira 1990 ubwo zatanga zarwanye mu buryo bwa gisirikari buzwi (guerre classique) nyamara icyo gihe tukazita inyeshyamba. None ubu ziri kurwana bunyeshyamba nibwo badusaba kuzita abavandimwe. Abenshi mu banyapolitiki b'uru Rwanda aho baketse kuzasanga umutwe bazahasanga amaguru maze bumirwe!

Mbere ya tariki 8 Gashyantare, abakunzi b'inkotanyi bari bamaze kwiyongera, none ubu ibintu biragenda birushaho kuzamba. Uko abayoboke bamwe na bamwe b'amashyamba batahura ubusuma bw'inyenzi niko mu mashyamba harimo hagenda havuka ikibazo cyo kutabona kimwe umwanzu. Ni muri urwo rwego muri MDR batangiye gutanga andi makarita mashya y'abapamihutu. Ngo abatabyemera baziviremo n'ubundi nta cyo bari bamariye iryo shyamba ry'umucyo usibye gutuma riseba. Tariki ya 25/02/1992, MDR yasohoye itangazo rivugaga ibibazo igihugu kirimo birebana n'amashyamba n'intambara. Muri icyo tangazo harimo icyifuzo cy'uko ingabo z'u Bufaransa zagirwa nyinshi kurushaho, zikagera nko ku bihumbi mirongo itatu (30.000).

Nyamara mu gihugu cy'i Burundi, Twagiramungu Faustin, Perezida wa MDR, ari mu basinyiye ko Abafaransa batahuka, PSD na PDC nayo yageze i Bujumbura asinyira amasezerano atandukanye n'ibyo abayoboke b'ayo mashyamba bari basabye. Mu yandi magambo FPR iragenda igomashyamba abayoboke b'ishyamba iri n'iri kugira ngo ibone uburyo ikomeza gusururira mu nduru.

Arusha, Bujumbura,, Dar-Es-

Saalam ni musanga FPR ishaka kubyinisha abanyamashyamba kugira ngo ibone uko ifata ubutegetsi. Guhora bahindagura ahabera imishyikirano nibyo bizagarura amahoro ahubwo ni uburyo bwo kujijisha. Naho ubundi ntabwo FPR izemera kugabana ubutegetsi n'ishyamba iryo ari ryo ryose. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo irusheho kugira icyizere cy'umutekano w'abayoboke bayo baranzwe n'ubugoma. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo ibashe kwikorera noneho yishyure imyenda y'abandi cyane cyane iya MUSEVENI. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo, idindise demokarasi nk'uko Museveni yayidindije muri Uganda.

Kangura.

GATABAZI ARASONGA ABAKUWE MU BYABO:

Mu basenyerwa na MINITRAPE higanjemo abanyarubengeri n'abanyabyumba bahungiyemo mu miji ya Kigali. Abenshi bagaragaye kuzingazinga utururi aho babonaga hatatuwe bamaze kumvikana na komeye n'umugenzuzi w'imyubakire mu miji. Hari igihe rero kateripirari isa igakubita hasi inzu yuzuye, maze sa mpunzi sikabura epfo na ruguru. Ubu seko zirushaho kwiyongera kandi sikababazidashoboye kwiyubakira za «cadastres» zizakomeza kuba mu kirere nk'ibisiga. Ese mama aho uwo Gatabazi wanga urunuka aho mu majyamburu bese ntiyanabikorera ubugome ngo yumvishe abo bakiga? icyakora agize umutima-muntu w'imbabazi yareka izo ngorwa zikabona nazo aho zikinga nka we.

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HITIMANA Noël: Journaliste

INZOZI ZA KARENZI KARAKE, UMUKURU W'INYENZI ZO MURI GOMN

Soma Karenzi nk'uko wavuga Kabera. Karenzi birumvikana ko ari izina ry'abatutsi. Nawe niwe, kimwe n'inkotanyi bene wabo. Ni inyenzi mu zindi. Karenzi wa cyokora nta bwo asana ya "mihirimbi" itunzwe n'ibitiriri. Casimir Bizimungu yayaga atubwira. Yarize! Azi iby'amategako, akaba yanyuze mu ishuri (rikuru?) rya gisirikari iyo za Tanzaniya, "Tanzania Military Academy". N'ubwo akiri umusore, ubu ni "commander" mu nyenzi, nako muri RPA (Rwandese Patriotic Army), ishami rya gisirikari ry'umutwe wa RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front). Ni "umukozzi" wa OUA kimwe na bagenzi be bo mu Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Nigeria, bari muri GOMN.

Inyenzi zo muri uwo mutwe w'abasirikari "badafite aho babaga miye", uko ari eshanu, uzibwirwa n'imyambaro itagira amapeti nk'uko kuri bagenzi babo bo mu bindi bihugu bigeragara. icyapa bafite ni icya OUA, umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika. Cyokora icyo witegereje neza usura yabo usanga iteye ukwayo. Ni naho uhita ubona ko uri kimwe n'abantu badasanzwe muri iki gihugu cyokora basa nabene Musinga aba ba... vris! Cyane cyane uwitwe Sarto. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabagiriye akabanga muri iyi minsi ibemerera noneho kwambura ibandera ry'u Rwanda n'ubwo bamwe batariyikoze. Wakumva bavuye iki-nyarwanda ukibaza niba ari ingabo z'u Rwanda zahindutse abatutsi gusa gusa, nta muhutu uzirimo. Iyo muganiriye akanyu ukumva ibitekerezo by'abo bantu niho ubona ko waguye mu nyenzi z'ingome.

Nizo «ngorane» KANGURA yagize igihe General Ekundayo Opaleye yajyaga kwereka abanyamakuru aho inkotanyi zihanganye n'ingabo z'u Rwanda mu karere ka Ngarama. KANGURA yagize "amahinwe"? yo kuyana mu modoka imwe n'inyenzi Karake Karenzi, "afande" w'inkotanyi ziri muri GOMN, atubwohoza kuva i Kigali kugera i Ngarama kugenda no kugaruka. Uwo musore aroti byinshi. Iyo nyenzi "ipinga" revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959, ikaba itanayemera. Birumvikana kandi kuko icyo revolisiyo ariyo yakuye ba sekuru ku kinyoma, Karenzi Karake iwabo ni i Bulinga ya Gitarama. We anemeza ko icyo revolisiyo niba yaranabaye, ngo yafubye! Cyane cyane ngo tariki ya 5 Nyakanga

1973 igihe ingabo z'igihugu zagobokaga u Rwanda zikaruvana mu gisimu abanyapolitiki bari baruroshyemo. Twagerageje kumvisha uwo "muva ndimwe" ko revolisiyo "morale" yaje ishimangira icyo mu w'1959, Karenzi azinga umunye. Muri bwa bugomo bwazo ati: Habyarimana ntiyafashe imbunda "agashimangira" revolisiyo yo mu w'1959? Natwe rero twaje "kuyishimangira"... n'imbunda.



Impuzamugambi ntabwo ari agatsiko k'aba G.P. 200 nk'uko Karenzi Karake abirota mu bunyenzzi bwe.

Nibwizwe ngo ababazwa nk'uko u Rwanda rutitaye ku kibazo cy'impunzi kugera igihe zitereye. Tumubwira ko ari urwitwazo kuko inyenzi zateye ikibazo cy'impunzi kiri hafi gukemurwa. Atubwirako inzira ku murima yemeza ko icyo mishyikirano bari barimo ntacyo yari kugeraho. Duhite twibaza niba icyo Arusha nayo itazaba nk'icyo ya mbere. "Commander" Karake aroti inkotanyi zafashe Ruhengeri, Byumba, zageze i Rwamagana, zisonga mbere mpaka. Nyamijosi Ngo zigeze i Tare, n'i Rulindo ngo ziri yo. Karenzi ntiyiyumvisha ukuntu ingabo z'u Rwanda zazisubiza inyuma zikaba zazigazaho muri Uganda. Ngo abo "bana" (inkotanyi) bararakaye, ari nako atwemeza ko igihugu cyabo "inkotanyiland" kigenda gikura. Nyamara icyo nyenzi ntiyemeye ko uretse guverinoma y'icyitso ya Nsengiyaremye yahagaritse imirwano, inyenzi ya nyuma iba ibarizwa ku mupaka!

Mu bibabaza cyane "commander" Karenzi harimo abasirikari b'Abafaransa bari ino ariko cyane cyane Perezida w'icyo gihugu, François Mitterrand yita "interahamwe". Kuri we ngo

abafaransa bivangamu bibazo by'abanyarwanda bitabareba. Wamubaza iby'inkunga Museveni atera inkotanyi, Karenzi Karake agaca. Ngo Museveni ni tumureke, yimereye neza n'abanya Uganda. Ni nde se uyobewe ko Museveni yibye abanya Uganda igihugu cyabo. Ngo kubona Museveni adushumuriza inkotanyi ni amakosa ya Habyarimana n'ubutegetsi bweli

Karenzi kimwe n'inyenzi banabababazwe bari mu karere ka Ngarama, bemeza ko bagaba ibitero mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 bari bagamije "kubura leta ya Habyarimana gukomeza kwica abatutsi n'abagogwe". Wamubaza niba kuza wica abaturage b'inzirakarengane ariko guhosha imvururu, agahakana ko inyenzi atari zo zishe abaturage mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba. Ngo abapfuye bishwe ku buryo bw'impanuka cyangwa se bivuganwe n'ingabo z'u Rwanda! Ni nde se uyobewe ko inyenzi zafataga abahutu cyane cyane bo muri MRND na CDR zikabashyira mu nzu zerangiza zikabatwikiramo? Wapfa by'impanuka warangiza ukirundarunda (wafuye) hamwe n'abandi? Karenzi Karake icyo muganiriye usanga afite amayeri menshi. Ibyo birasanzwe dore ko ari n'inkotanyi. Ari nako ahishe byinshi. Umuntu ukumvisha ko nta moko mu Rwanda abaho! Ngo umunyarwanda nta bwoko agira, nta muhutu, nta mututsi, nta mutwa. Nyamara icyo urebye imirambo y'inyenzi, ikiyiranga ni uburebure n'utuzuru tureture. Kandi gutinya kuvuga ikibazo cy'abahutu n'abatutsi byonyine bihishwe byinshi.

BURUNDI: Buyoya arasiganwa n'igihe.

Umugabo Petero Buyoya, Perezida w'u Burundi, yatewe atunguwe Afata ubutegetsi tariki ya gatanu Nzeri 1987 yari aze ko azamara igihe kurekire ku butegetsi bityo agakomeza umuho wa ba sekuru be b'abatutsi wo gukandamiza abahutu b'i Burundi uko ingoma na Repubulika ntutsi bizajya bisimburana. Nyamara Buyoya yasanzwe yaribeshye. Iminsi y'igisambo ibabaze. Bavugaga ko ari mirongo ine n'umwe Buyoya nawe ari hafi kwibonera ukuri twagiye tumubwirako akakwirerangaza. Ubwoba afite nibwo butuma atakibaza Bujumbura akaba yinirwa azengurika intara z'u Burundi kugira ngo arebe ko ikinyoma cyacyafashe icyo tuzi ni uko azatangara.

Buyoya yatewe atunguwe kuko ntariyari aze ko mu Burundi havuka ari umashyamba atari ab'abatutsi gusa. Igihaga kiregereye ngo abana b'abahutu nabo bica ku ntebe y'ubutegetsi. Na Buyoya arabibona. Amazi asigaye ari barirwa ku mitwe y'intoki. Ni ejo bundi mu kwe gutandatu ukun kugetsinde binyuze mu matoro. Ni ejo bundi, uko Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo bakomeje kwirerangaza, kukakya ahagaragara. Uko kuri guteye gutya imbaga nyamwinshi y'abahutu i Burundi igize 85 ku ijana y'abarundi bese zipakururaga agatsiko k'abatutsi nyakamwe barenze 14 ku ijana by'abaturage. Ako gatsiko kakaba kari kamaze ibinyajana

Kubwira Karenzi ko hari ishyamba CDR riharanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu ubushakako mushwana. Kuri we, CDR ngo ni "abiganyu" b'aba GP (barinda Perezida wa Repubulika) batarenze. 2001 CDR ngo akaba ari "ikibwano" cya MRND ngo kuba FPR yamemeraye CDR u mwanya umwe mu Nteko Ishyamba amategako (abadepeye) muri guverinoma itaha ni imbabazi. Ukibaza icyo inyenzu ari cyo kugira ngo zitegeke abantu bagize 85 ku ijana by'abanyarwanda bese. Inzozo za Karenzi uwazirondora ntibarangiza. Gusa icyo nyenzi buri gihe ishishikariza ingabo z'u Rwanda zihagaze neza ku rugamba, imirambo y'inyenzi ari yose icyizere cyo kigeha kiyoyoke. Burye koko inzozo zigira nkana. Hari igihe Karenzi nawe (aka ya nd ntabwo) nmwe azatote... ss chane!

bine ku ngoma, kica, kagakiza. Buyoya kubona yinirwa mu ntara z'u Burundi si ugukunda abaturage ashinzwe kuyobora. Dore ko abatuye icyaro mu Burundi, abenshi ari abahutu. Nibo batunze abatutsi badakozwe iminimo y'amaboko. Abo banenganyirizwe abatutsi bibera mu migi cyane cyane i Bu-jumbura.

dahumuka muri politiki abatutsi bo ngere bibe ubutegetsi. Ari nayo mpamvu ashyiracyane cyane imbere y'iprona ndetse n'igikomangoma, Louis Rwagasore. Ni uko yizera ko abarundi batari bavumbura amayeri y'abatutsi. Burya rero si buno Buyoya aha ashakaho azahungira abahutu hamaze gutsinde. Kuko rubanda izamubaza ibyo



Buyoya niba yinirwa azenguruka intara z'u Burundi aba agamije kureba niba ikinyoma cyacyafashe. Abashakira kureba niba abaturage bagishinzwe na bwa "bumwe" bw'abarundi abashyishyira kugira ngo aramuke Radiyo Burundi, twemeza ko mu maboko y'abatutsi, kandi birumvikana. Nayo yunganira buri gihe Buyoya mu kinyoma cyo. Niyo yinirwa isamurira yemeza ko ngo "ubumwe bw'abarundi bwagezweho". None se Buyoya ahangayikishijwe n'iki ko "ubumwe" bw'abarundi buhanze?

Ikibutisha Buyoya turakizi. Arashakira kureba abarundi mu matoro y'ahuri huri kugira ngo abafatanyeho ku-

abatutsi bene wabo bakozwe. Ubuhungiro ntibubuze, mukuruwe Museveni azamwakira nk'uko yakinye. Bageza Cyokora yagira vuba kuko hari igihe atazaba agishoboye no guhunga. Kandi ni vuba. Nta na rimwe Kangura yigeze itsindwa imanza zerekanywe n'ibyo yandikira ku Buyoya na guverinoma ye. Bahutu mwese zerebwe i Burundi ni mwumve ko ibyo twavuze kandi twavuye ku Buyoya ari ukurarangwa n'igitugu, ubwicanyi, ironde-koko, isahuramutungo n'ibindi. Bahutu rero nimushyira hamwe, gashozamururu Major Pierre Buyoya azabyara ibihumye nka ya mbwa.



NobuZE Hassan

by'uzo by umugabo bigaragaye mu byo avuye naho ubuho bwe bugaragaraye mu byo akora. Inshuri yawe niyo ituma bamenya icyo umuho.

Nk uko biwize ingoma yose igira intangiro n iherezo Ishobora kugira intangiro mbere ariko iherezo rikaba ryiza nk uko intangiro ishobora kubanzira iherezo r kaba r b i Itangira nibi iherezo ryiza. b boneka icyo abagize ingoma cyangwa ibyegera byayo bafite umutima w ubwoba umutima wemeza ibitekerezo by abandi ukabasha kw kosora Kugira uwo mutima bisobanura kuba umugaragu w abo utegeka icyo bigenze bityo abatangirye banwanya ingoma yawe bagera aho bakabona ko bay hura ubusa noneho bakayihisha amahoro. igasugira ikototera kugira iherezo ryiza Ingoma itangira neza ikarangira nabi garagara icyo abantu butegetsi bakoresha amashyamba atarazwa, abwira abatwaga ko ubutegetsi ari ubwabo. bagera burushaho kubagera kandi akaba ariho bukorera Umutwaga wumvise icyo magambo ahita ayoboka ubwo butegetsi n umutima umwe Nyamara urebye harya no hino muri Afrika usanga abafashwe akarim. keza nk ingabo bari bafite imigambi ihemukira rubanda gushyira igihugu kurenganya abatashoboye gutegekeshya igihugu Mbese muri make izo d sikuru zikora umurimo wo guhuma, kuroga ubwenge bwa rubanda Nibwo usanga abategetsi bakatwaza mu gukungahara ubutazakana n abakene bakivuruguta mu butinda ubutazabukamo

yo ngoma imeze ntyo bishyirakera
muturigiye gashyamba akamubwira ko
marozzi naze ubwenge bugarukira neza,
ubwo akanga urunuka ya ngoma ya-
mubeshye ariko uko ateye hejuru aya-
magana agahohoterwa mu buryo
bwose kandi ari inzira karengane. Nti-
bwo usanga mu turere hafi ya twose

tw'igihugu barajunditse abategetsi bagahora basaba ko bahindurwa. Nguko uko ubutegetsi butangira neza buka rangira nabi.

**Ibyifuzo by'umugabo bigaragara-
ra mu byo avuye**

Iyi guverinoma iya kuyaha yajere abanyarwanda ibirangaza. Bayiyoboka baziko igiye kubakiza iyi nyatsi y'ntambara. Mu yandi magambo iyi guverinoma yashatse kwereka abaturage ko ari nziza. ariko ubu mu matemibera yayo biragaragara ko ari nziza na gashyamba HABYARIMANA ayishyiraho ya vuzze nk uyiseka ngo bavuzeko baza ibangiza iyi ntambara nyaho nibayeho turabona icyo twabonye. na guverinoma ikaba yakabonye. ni uko intambara igakomera.

HABYARIMANA yabivuze abizi kuko yari azi ubuswa bwa Nsengiyaremye n'ubukotanyi bwa banywe mu bayigize icyo atabashije kumenya ni abaministri bo muri MRND bagara gashyamba imitako ya guverinoma Nsengiyaremye Abenshi muri bo ba koze nk'aba cancase nta rukundo na mba rwishyaka. Ibanyweze Nsengiyaremye yagize yifuzaga ko bigerwaho byagezweho n'ubwo byabaga bigamye gutashyagaciro MRND Byereka nyuma ko ba ministiri bari shyamba ari umunimbo Ahubwo byaje kugaragara ko iyi guverinoma izarangiza imamba ari nuko u Rwanda rufashwe Yaje ari icyamba cy'inkotanyi Dore nawe ukamara kuyaho nibwo inyenzi zafashwe henshi ku butaka bw'u Rwanda none mu gihe cyo gusezera inkubashakira uburyo yababura n'akashyamba. Nyamara Habyarimana ntako atabwiwe gusezerera icya guverinoma akurikije ububasha ahabwako ntegeko nshingira! Aho azajugunya abanyarwanda nwe uza habazwa mbere na mbere

Muri iyi gushyamba ya 11 y'inzira cyaho, HABYARIMANA nta butwari bapapagaye, yaranze na disikuru nyinshi zidasherekeye nibikorwa byemeye yaguye afata asenewe amashyamba yaguye abubuzamo aho n'imibanizi ishya ya rya MRND ryafatye, Ha byarimana ubwe akayitesha agaciro byageze aho abayoboke b'ishyamba ryavugana uburakankari Habyarima na nakomeza kudutaba mu nama tu

zamwirukana mu ishyamba ahasigaye dukomeze urugenda ibyemezo byacu atacyumva bishobora gutuma ishyamba ritsindwa " Abaturage bavanywe mu byabo nabo barabaza icyo HABYAR MANA ategereje kugira ngo abakaze guverinoma ibagambanira

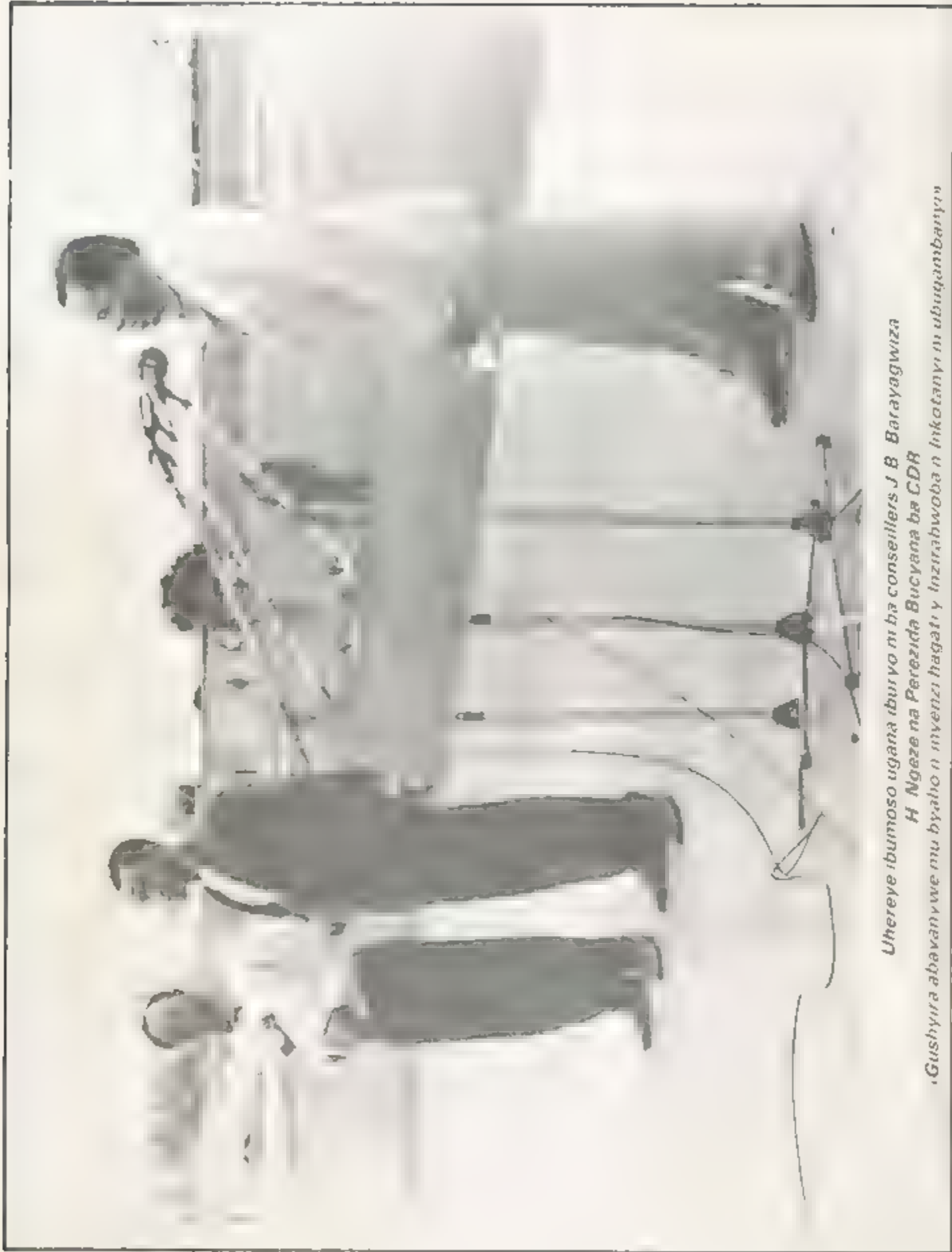
Inshuti yawa ishobora gutuma bamenya icyo uri cyo.

Amashyaka yiyunze na MRND yakunze gusaba HABYARIMANA gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo ahora avugako byaramunaniye Ntaturaho shyaka rye nze akaza abayoboke benshi guhera tanki 16 Werurwe nk'uko twa bibwiwe n abayoboke ba MRND bo mu maperefezi tura atandukanye

Ubwiyunge bwa MRND na CDR bwatumye CDR ihatakaniza abayobo ke benshi kuko mbere yabwo abayo bozi ba MRND bari barabwiyeye abayoboke bayo ngo CDR na MRND nushyaka omwe ngo si ngombwa kwirwira uva muri MRND ngo ugiye muri CDR Bageze n'aho bababwirira ngo bapuzamugombi zizatora abakandida ba MRND. Barongerera ngo bagize uruharo mu ishingwa rya CDR. Poliki ibyayo hiruzwi byaje kuba ngombwa ko CDR na MRND biyiyunga n'ubwo ayo mashyaka yombi adahuye intego.

Umuntu wese ushyiraye mu gashyamba abona ko MRND na CDR hari ingingo zimwe ahuriraho ariko ntabwo ari umushyamba rimwe none se wasobanura ute ukuntu MRND yonyine yakwagurirwe muri Miniteri? Zose ikabura Impuzamugambi icomekamo mu myanya yo hejuru nk'uko ari umushyamba yagiye akorera abayoboke bayo? Iyo myanya ahubwo yayihereye abaturanyi abandi ikubeshyako ari abayoboke batangajenye kubona muri MININTER, MINISANTÉ, MINESUPRES higanza mu myanya ikomeye abakozi batari abayoboke ba MRND ibyo inkuba twiriragiyimana. Aya aya yakoze abagenzuzi buturere MRND niyabibonye? Abayoboke bayo bayizize yabababaye ile?

Mu gihe twateguraga iyi nyandi ko mugenzi wacu issa NYABYENDA yabonyanye n umwe mur'ba Amba-
deri bari mu Rwanda utarashize ko muvuye izina amubaza icyo atekereza



Uhereye ibumoso ugana iburyo ni ba conseillers J B Barayagwiza

H Ngeze na Perezida Bucyana ba CDR

‘Gushyira abavanywe mu byaho n’ivyenz’ hagati y’inzira, bwoba n’inkotanyi, n’ubuhamanya’

INKOTANYIZIRAH EMUKIRA ABATUTSINAZO ZITIRETSE.

Abatazi neza amateka y'iki gihugu cyane cyane abanyamahanga, niba badasobanukirwa n'ibibazo u Rwanda rufite muri iki gihe kandi bihora bigaruka. Nta munyamahanga ushobora kwiyumvisha icyo abanyarwanda bapfa. Abantu bavugaga ururumu rumwe, bafite umuco imwe, basa hafi ya bese ariko bahora mu ntambara cyane cyane ubwoko bubiri, abahutu n'abatutsi. Nyamara ayo moko aratandukanye, umuhutu atandukanye n'umututsi. Inyenzi Kagame niyo yivugiyemo ubwe ko umuhutu ntabwo ahuriye n'umututsi, icyo basangiye gusa ni igihugu. Ngaho! Kandi koko ni byo. Umuhutu n'umututsi n'ubwo bwose bavuka mu Rwanda, baratandukanye muri kamere. Umuhutu ni umuntu utagira inzika, «ibagirwa vuba, ukunda kubabwirira uwamukoshereje. Ari nacyo gituma umututsi akuka ko umuhutu ari ikigoryi. None se icyo abahutu haba ari abagome nk'abatutsi, ukeka ko ubu haba hari umututsi ukirangwa muri iki gihugu? Cyane cyane icyo urebye amarorerwa abatutsi bakoreye abahutu!

Inyenzi cyangwa se Inkotanyi, uko zakwiyitaye kwose, ntibizazibura kuba ari abana b'abatutsi (inzoka) cyangwa se abuzukuru babo b'abarunari bahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959 yabaciyemo ku kinyoma. Kanjyarengwe, Bizimungu, Lwiza, Bizimuruka n'utundi du «capot» udakingirirako, ntacyo bazahindura kuri iryo hame. Kandi nabo tuzi ko ari ukubura uko bagira. Umunyarwanda niwe wabivuze neza agira ati: «Uhuriye mu nzu ntabwo adapfunda umutwe». Inyenzi cyangwa se Inkotanyi (Radiyo Rwanda izite uko ushaka), zibeshye kuva zahungu Rwanda mu myaka yakurikiye revolisiyo ya rubanda, na n'ubu zikibeshya. Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abatutsi ntikizakemurwa n'intwari. Utekereza atyo aribeshya kandi bimaze kugaragara.

Repuburika y'u Rwanda igishyigwaga, inyenzi zari zizi ko itazamara kabiri. Zigaba ibitero zibwira ko zizagwa gituma abahutu bari bamaze kwipakurura ingoyi ya cyami. Inyenzi zibeshye ku butwari bw'ingabo z'u Rwanda, icyo gihe zari nke cyane. Ntizanyumvishaga inyenzi kandi ukuntu «ibihutu» byashobora gutegeka kandi nta «ibihutu» byavukanye. Inyenzi zabeshye abatutsi bene wazo ngo nta kabuza zizatsinda, barategereza barababwira. Ab'inkwakuze muri bo bi-

tegura kugaruka kwa Kigeri bituma bagomera Repuburika na Demokarasi. Nyamara ntibabihanirwa. Abategetsi ba Repuburika ya Mbere bakomeza kwikinga abo «bana b'imana» gufatanye n'abandi banyarwanda kubaka igihugu. Uko kutabakura, abatutsi baketse ko abahutu ari ba bandi, nta cyahindutse, ari ibigoryi.

Inyenzi na n'ubu zirakibeshya ariko zinabeshya abatutsi bene wazo. Wabona hari n'abagitekereza ko Kigeri azagaruka ku ngoma. Kandi barahamirira. RAVI wa Kangura se yampakanyaye?

Mu kwakira 1990, inyenzi muri bwa buhumyi bwazo bwogeye hose, zabeshye abatutsi bene wazo ngo zizafata kigali mu minsi itatu cyangwa ine. Zashukwaga n'amahoro u Rwanda rwari rwifitirye, «abatutsi barishyira barizana», ureke ibyo P.L. ibabeshya, abategetsi bakuru baragomwe n'ibizungereze... mbese habura Kigeri gusa! Inyenzi zitera, zibeshye ko abahutu bose basinzirirye. Niba «koloneri» yari yaramize ku bifutero, cyangwa se kuri ka «feneriga» k'abatutsikazi «kaporali» we yari «vigilant», ari mase. Kandi yararurwanye kugeza igihe na «koloneri» akangukiye.

Abatutsi koko burya ni abatezi. Iyo abahutu bashakaga kurangira ikibazo bari bafitanye n'abatutsi, ntibari babonye impamvu nyayo? Nyamara barabihoreye. Inyenzi ubwo niko zikomeje kubeshya abatutsi ngo zaratsinze, ngo zifite «power» (ingufu)! Byahise se ko ari ukwihagararaho. None se tuvuye ko Rwigyema atapfuye, Buyenyezi ari mu ihugurwa azagaruka, Peter Bayingana ari ku Mulindi! Ko zateye zirenga ibihumbi icumi, mu bategereye ni nde usigaye? Ko na Kagame yaje nyuma. Abandi se bari he? Ziracyapfa kandi zizapfa. Abatutsi nabo baratsinze. Ubwira umututsi uti ibyo mukorera abahutu umunsi barakaye, ntibazababwira... (semba!). Kandi wikinira udakomeje. Akagushyigwaga umujinya n'akababwirira utazi icyo biturutse, ngo muzababwirira se mubamare? Kuki abatutsi bumva bagomba gufata?

Ariko icyo urebye neza usanga bifite ishingiro. Iyo bibutse amarorerwa bakoreye abahutu, bo ubwabo basanga akabije, bakurira urubakwiye! Inyenzi nizikomeze zibabwirira ngo zaratsinze!

Inyenzi wagira ngo ziba zivuye gusa, nta bushake bwo kwumvikana.

No gushyikirana nazo ntibyoroshye kuko ntacyo wageraho. Mu gihe zari zarifatye Guverinoma y'u Rwanda Arusha, ziyisinyishaga ibidashoboka, ejo bundi zigaba ibitero mu Ruhengeri no muri Byumba, nta mpamvu igaragara uretse bwa bugome abatutsi bisanganywe muri kamere yabo bwo kwica. Kanjyarengwe ibibondo by'abahutu yishe hari icyaha byari byamukoreye? Ntibatangajwe rero abuzukuru be inyenzi bakomeye umuco w'ababyeyi baho.

Ntabwo u Rwanda rwari rukwiyemo guhora muri uwo mukino. Abari ARUSHA, nibatahuke, tubanze turangize intambara. Naho bundi ntiyazapfa irangiye. Turwane dutsinde cyangwa se dutsinde uretse ko bidashoboka, n'imishyikirano igre aho ihira. Na ba «Bagome» (GOMN), basigaye bita abagome, batahe kuko ntacyo bakora.

Ubu se noneho inyenzi zizongera kubeshya ko mu Rwanda nta Demokarasi ihari. Ngo leta y'u Rwanda ntiyubahiriza ikiremukamuntu? Intambwe twari tumaze gutera muri Demokarasi ntiziyirahaye «Rudahigwa turi Nyanza!» Amashyamba akorana nazo (MDR, PSD, PL) nayontazongere kubeshya rubanda. Twabonye amahoro y'inyenzi! Ayo mashyamba yabonye ubwabo ko arimo gukina n'umuriro. Azigobotora inkotanyi aho ku nzoni, aho wazibeshya? Tubabwirira! Gukorana n'umwami ngo ni inda y'ubuho kwikora munda kubera isoni, ibyirako by'inkotanyi mu Rwanda byirirwa bibeshya ingabo z'u Rwanda ngo birashyigikiye! Erega na Perezida wa Bwira Twamumenyeshye ko abana vohereje mu NKotanyi, abenshi basize agatwe mu mirwano yo mu Ruhengeri bivuganywe n'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Nashakaga imubare nyayo azegereye Etal-Major y'ingabo z'u Rwanda bazayimuhira.

Abatutsi nabo ubu bafite ubwoba. Bo bari bari ko imishyikirano y'Arusha igiye kubashyigirira ku butegereye kubera abagambanyi nka Nsengiyaremye na bagenzi be, none inkotanyi zibavuyemo!

Awa! N'impunzi z'abatutsi ntizigishye nkanswe guhabwa ubutegetsi. Wiririra ijosi rikakubyarira umwango. Inkotanyi ntizibyeretse abatutsi? Ubu se abahutu biyemeje guhoreka bene wabo baguye mu Ruhengeri no muri Byumba baba bakosheje? Kandi byakorwa!

KANGURA

IBARUWA IFUNGUYE KURI PEREZIDA WA REPUBULIKA.

Nubikin ngombwa ko hagira uwi-butsa Perezida Habyarimana ko amaze kubonana inshuro nyinshi na Perezida Museveni, ariko zose nta cyo zamugejejeho gishimishye. Murubuka Nyaku bahwa Perezida wa Repubulika ko iki nyoma cya mbere "officiel" mwakigejejeho na mugenzi wanyu wa Uganda ubwo mwahungaga. Butare Yabapfuyikiye amaze ngo nta mpunzi zizatera ziturutse mu gihugu ayobora Amaranga yaje kubacira murayibuka n'ubwo zatera zigasenga mufite ubumwe ntabwo zabatsinda.

Ku munsu wa mbere wasogongeye ku kinyoma. No ku wa nyuma mu zaturura (kandi, aka wa mugani waba kurambere ngo "utangirye ijoro arota nabi burinda bucyi". Gusa icyo twababwirako muri iki gihe ni ukwirinda ko ubwo mugani uba ibamwe. Ibyo mukabikora mwitwara naze mu mayira abinagoye igihugu kimwe yo guhosha inamba no guhamya politiki ishinze ku mashyamba menshi.

Mu byukuri, Perezida Museveni nta mbabazi nta mpuhwe abafitiye n'ubwo mwagira imishyikirano i nshuro yirongoririndwi kanndwi. Mwe ubwanyu mwivugiyemo kumuntu ahita mu mshuri aho akaba adahitamo umuturanyi. Umuturanyi wanyu rero, yababwirako ubwo mu w'1990 ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bugihari. Ya maranga yabacirye atanga ingaruka nze mu munsu ya mbere y'intamba ra Umuturanyi wanyu yah se afata ndi ngamba yo gusandaza ubwo bumwe.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ubu mu buhonera ubwanyu ko abanyarwanda nta bumwe bagifite. Ibyo ni uruhare rugaragaye inyeshyamba Museveni yagize muri icyo ntamba.

ra. Yabanye kubumvisha mbere na mbere ko ari uruhande rwanyu rworoshye kugira ngo abace mu nsumye.

Politiki y'ishyamba mwewe dukuka ko han indwara yabanduye mwaba mutazi cyangwa mutavuze. Bwana Perezida byaragaragaye kenshi ko politiki y'ishyamba mwewe, irangwa n'uko uwayifatanze ayivugamo ibyoyemera kandi akishyiramo ko n'abandi babayemera nka we. Yego baravuye ngo icyo umuntu ari cyo hagati y'umunyakunye umunyakinyoma, ni cyo akekaho abandi kuba cyol. Nyamara akenye abayemera. Ngize ingaruka mbi zo gucengeza politiki yihangirye, wemera kandi wizeraho ukuri. Muri politiki y'amashyamba menshi rero birahinduka. Abatemera ibitekerezo bya we bigaragaye nta kibazo noneho ukamenyeshaho ukuri guherereye. Icyo gihe bya buri bavuye ngo politiki ni umwuga w'uburyarya n'uburyamiriza bihabwate kuko ari cyo gihe nyacyo umunyapolitiki avuye ibitandukanye n'ibyo yemera. Iyo politiki Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ni nayo inyeshyamba zikoresheye. Hagize ubasaba urugero, ndumva mwahita umwerekako itandukaniro riri hagati y'amasezerano mugirana na Museveni n'ibikorwa abakorera. Mwanamubwirako icyo nyeshyamba yafashe Kampala mu gihe hakorwaga imishyikirano yo kugarura amashuri muri Uganda. Nyuma mugasaza umubwirako isomo mwakuyemo.

Nimwinde ibitekerezo bigamye guha igihugu uwigometeze kuko n'abandi bashoborakwigometeze bityo nabo bakabubabwira, noneho igihugu kigahora muri icyo kigahora mu mwijima kizayitse. Niba akababwirako kagihari nimwongere muhamagariye abanyarwanda.

nyarwanda gukunda u Rwanda no ku bona kimwe ikibazo cy'intamba. Ni mubizeze ko politiki y'amashyamba menshi itazakorwa mu nkokora ariko bareke gutiza umwami umurundi. Nibibye ngombwe kubumvisha ko han uburyo bw'ibindi bwo guhanga ubutegetsi ubu n'ubu munyemashyamba ariko hatabaye kugambanira igihugu ingero zifatika zaragaragaye mu bihugu byinshi by'afurika. Musababwirako muhanganye gucengeza mu banyarwanda politiki y'u Rwanda rumwe kuko ari byo byongerera ingabo z'u Rwanda imbaraga zo guhangana n'umwami. Nimuhaze ku mutima ko umwami mwenyine kugeza ubu Perezida wa Repubulika, guverinoma zose mushyiraho, abanyarwanda bazafata nk'aho ari abafasha banyu mwishyiraho mu rwego rwo kubafasha imirimo. Nibaramuka babaye abafasha baba, ibyo bazabwirako muri iki gihugu, amajeka ni mwewe azabigerekaho.

Mutagize ubwo muhaze, abanyarwanda rubanda rugufi, yo nkeka ko irusha abanyapolitiki gukunda igihugu, irasaba kugaragaza mu mvugiro no mu byemezo ko turi mu ntamba. Diskuru za buri gihe si ngombwa kuko nazo hari igihe zizambaye ibintu. Imvugo bifuzwa n'izisaba buri wese gukomeza akazikomeza, yaba ingabo, umutegetsi cyangwa umunyapolitiki ibyo byose mukabikora mu zinkana politiki y'amashyamba menshi igomba gushingira imizi. Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika dukumubwirako aha tubasaba kumenyeshaho kare aho ibintu bi-pfira kandi imana yonyine izabibafashemo.

NYABYENDA Issa

Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint du Journal
KANGURA

GITERA ATI: «UMUGOME NI UWO MUTUTSI UHORA YIKUZA».

«Umuhutu Gitera Joseph. Ikidatwara ubugabo n'urwagwa, icyatwe imfura agahinda. Kigatera abahutu ubwuzu, rubanda rukidagadurako» (GITERA Joseph Habyarimana). Ntabwo yirarira. Ibyo yivugaho ni ukuri, yari kamere ye. Yaratinyukaga kandi igihe cyose akabikora mu kurya. Ibyinshi mu byo yagize avuye byabaye impanuro, biba ubuhungu. We-

nda n'ibyo biko bitegereje igihe cyabyo. Nguwo Gitera ukomokaho imvugiro igira iti: «kubwira Gitera wakwira ikibimutera». Mu mugereka wo kungu Abanyarwanda yandikiye Nyakubahwa Général Major Habyarimana Juvenal tariki ya 7 Gicurasi 1976 yabaye nk'umubwirako ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bugoye kuko igituma umuhutu n'umututsi banyana kidashobora

gucika.

Umugereka dufitse uri mu rurimi rw'igifaransa ariko aha twifuza kuwushyira mu Kinyarwanda. Perezida Habyarimana ngo yabaye akiwubona agwa mu kantu ku mpamvu z'uko warukwira kuri gusataye kandi kuryana mu matwi. Kandi ni mu gihe kuko yamubwirako ko kunze Abanyarwanda ari

umurimo ugoye ndetse waba udashoboka. Nibwo wa mugereka Perezida Habyarimana yisabiye ubwe Gitera uhise ushyingurwa iyo muri Perezidansi, ba maneko bakwizwa hirya no hino ngo bahige ahantu hose haba ha-

boneka inyandiko zose z'uwo mugereka. Gitera ubwe baramuhungese basanga ari igihangange. Nta bwo ibyo byagezweho kuko muri iki gibe twagiye tubona abazifite, kandi bakemerako bazihawe na Gitera. Bakomeza

bavugaga ko bari kwemera bagafatanwa iyo nyandiko aho gutwika cyangwa ngo bacagagure ukuri.

Nyabyenda Issa.

UMUGEREKA J. HABYARIMANA YASABYE J.H. GITERA

Joseph H. Gitera
B.P. 99
Butare

Butare tariki ya 7 Mata 1976

Impamvu : Umugereka wa kunga Abanyarwanda. nubw turashakaga buri buhanga kunga abaturarwanda ubwabo. Turamaze rwose ko twagera ku majyambere n'ubukungu bw'igihugu mu myirya n'insangano mu Banyarwanda.

(Manifeste ya MRND, p. 7).

Kuri Nyakubahwa Général Major Habyarimana Juénal, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Perezida Fondateri wa MRND.

Nyakubahwa Bwana Perezida,

Nejewe n'urukundo mwampamagaranye ubwo mwashakaga mu nzu ipenye abashyamba ya Kamukama y'i Butare muti : «Bwana Gitera, murankorere umugereka wa kunga Abanyarwanda. Ubwo ni ubutumire n'itegeko rya kibyezi ry'umubanyi w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda kugira icyo nkora kuri icyo kibazo kinini kandi kigoye, igihugu gifite.

Nahamishijwe, Nyakubahwa Perezida no kwiyunga k'ukuri kwa Manifeste ya MRND yo ishingiyeho ukuri kw'ubwabo kwayo, k'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ubwabo kugira ngo batere imbere ikiganza mu kindi berekaza ig'amajyambere, kuko, mu by'ukuri, ni iyihe Musoma ibumba abaturage b'igihugu ishobora kubaho mu myirya n'insangano, mu bitutsi n'agashyamba katarugwa bishingiyeho ku moko ?

Na none, Nyakubahwa Perezida, mpereye ku kibazo cyerekeye kunga abanyarwanda, mwambajije iki kibazo «Abatutsi n'abahutu bapfuye iki, barapfa iki ?» Igisubizo cyanyije cyabaye «bapfuye kandi turapfa ubutegetsi». Ikibazo cyo kubungira uherezwe ku cyo bapfa, kirakomeye ndetse cyototera kudashoboka nk'uko aya maleka ananonye aberekanaga. Ishingira ry'ubwami ntutsi nk'uko tubigezwaho n'umuco nyarwanda w'abakurambere, waba urugwa

cyangwa uwanditse. Dore iyi nahobereamahanga yaje ukuri nyamuramba kandi kwigaragambya. Ni ipfundo risobanurajambo ku rindi imitegekere n'ubwami ntutsi.

1. Gahunda yataguye n'umututsi paraisineze
2. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe
3. Ibyagezweho
«Dore umugani
N'uzaza ikamugani
Azasanga ubukome bw'umugani
Buzirirye ku muganda w'inzu
Ubwo buwaritse ku manga,
Agaca karacuranga
Nyiramusambi asabagira inanga
Harabaye ntihakabw
Hapfuye imbwira n'imbeba,
Hasigara inka n'ingoma».

Muri iyi nteruro nahobereamahanga, Nyakubahwa Perezida, nimukurikirane kandi mwigumisha uburyo n'ibyemezo bigoye umututsi yakoresheje mu gitegeka umuhutu n'umututsi.

1. Gahunda yataguye kandi igatsinda :

«ubwo buwaritse ku manga»
Ubwo buwaritse ku manga ni ukubaho bw'abanyarwanda ubwabo kugira ngo batere imbere ikiganza mu kindi berekaza ig'amajyambere, kuko, mu by'ukuri, ni iyihe Musoma ibumba abaturage b'igihugu ishobora kubaho mu myirya n'insangano, mu bitutsi n'agashyamba katarugwa bishingiyeho ku moko ?

2. Uburyo bwakoreshejwe

«Agaca karacuranga»
Nyiramusambi asabagira inanga
Nk'agaca mu mishuri itagira kirengera, ni ko abatutsi bagize abahutu, mu gihe umututsi akari «Nyiramusambi» yihariye kubasukiranyako ibihoro bibasiririza, bibazindaza kugira ngo abatutsi batsinde.

3. Ibyagezweho

«Harabaye ntihakabw
Hapfuye imbwira n'imbeba
Hasigara inka n'ingoma»

Nguko ukuntu abami b'abahutu bapfuye. Birarangira ntibongera kuvugwa. Izo mbwira n'imbeba z'abahutu bapfuye. Hasigaye bene inka na bene ingoma aribo batutsi !

Nyakubahwa Perezida, ahangaha nimucengere kandi murumuna ubugome bwose n'amayeri atyaye ariko akweke-

reze by'umututsi wa kera n'uw'ubu bagirira umuhutu.

«Agaca karacuranga» ni ubwicanyi butagira gihangira. Mu gihe «Nyiramusambi asabagira inanga». Nyine umututsi akari wishyiraho arimo aribyirira.

Uko mbikereka, ibyo biturwa n'ubucucu n'ubugoyi bw'abahutu bidakwiye kubabwirwa.

IHUNGETA N'IHIRIKWA
RY'UBUTEGETSI NTUTSI

Mu w'1958, hategekaga umwami Mutorwa III Rudahigwa, intumwa z'abahutu bari ku isonga rya «Mouvement Social Hutu», nari ifite ikuzo ryo kwiyobora, twagiye imbere y'umwami n'Inama Nkuru y'igihugu yari igiye n'abatutsi gusa usibye abahutu babiri, dusaba uwo mubanyi wa kanyarwanda, uwo Rudahigwa, umwami wari ushyigikiye inshamba ry'ibintu na demokarasi, inzego ye ikaba «Imbaga y'inyabutatu iya mbere», tumusaba umugabane wacu dukwiye igihugu kitwemerera, kimwe n'ubwiyunge bw'igihugu hagati y'umututsi n'umuhutu.

Mu mugereka w'ubwiyunge twababaga ko ibinyira by'abakurambere bacu byanaganaga kuri Karinga byerekana ubuhake buteye isoni butazigera buhira, kandi bukaba ugusinda guhoraho, bitumurwa noneho bigabwira k'umugaragaro icyubahiriro cyo guhyingurwa mu buryo buwiyungashye.

Rudahigwa n'abari bamukikiye babaye nk'abikanga, bahita barakara. Niko kutubwirwa : «nta kibazo kiri hagati y'umuhutu n'umututsi mu Rwanda kuko nta buandimwe buri hagati y'umuhutu n'umututsi mu Rwanda, niacyo duhuriyeho uretse kubategeka no kubahakana». Ubwo Rudahigwa aba ashimangirye ya nahobereamahanga : «Harabaye ntihakabw
Hapfuye imbwira n'imbeba
Hasigara inka n'ingoma»
Rudahigwa amaze gutanga, Kigeri V n'abantu be bashatse kurangiza icyo kibazo gikomeye kandi bidashoboka. Ku-nga «Sakabaka na Rusaka». Bahise bashingira agatsiko k'abarunari kaje kubura Revolitsiyo yamenyeye amurasa hagati y'1959—1960.

ABAHUTU BAFATA UBUTEGETSI

Abakulu babaye maso, bashyira hamwe birinda kuba ibikoreshe, barwana inkundura. Ukwikengera kwabo, imbaraga zabo n'ubumwe bwabo nibyo byabaturiyemo ugutsinda kudashyirwa: hatangajwe Repubulika y'u Rwanda tariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961, ubu ikaba ishinze imizi, iyobowe na Nyakubahwa Generali Major Juvénal Habyarimana. Ahangaha rero, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, nimwibonere ibibazo bibiri binini kandi by'ingutu ubutegetsi bufiti: umututsi hejuru y'umuhutu mu gihe cy'inyaka magana ari, n'umuhutu hejuru y'umututsi mu gihe cy'inyaka 15 (1961—1976). Bakaba kandi bagomba kungwa !!!

UBWIYUNGE

Gusaba imbabazi bisobanura kwi-hohora no gusabana imbabazi, byo kime-nyetse cy'ubwandimwe n'igihango kidatirwa uburirahereze. Abatutsi Mutara III Rudahigwa na Kigeri V Nda-hindurwa n'abandi, ntabwo bashoboye kunga abatutsi n'abahutu, kuko batashoboye kwambura abatutsi ibyo banyase abahutu ngo babibabwirye.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wacu muri Repubulika y'u Rwanda, umunyarwanda w'umuhutu nk'uko bivugwa, ashobora kunga Abanyarwanda atanga ubutegetsi bw'igihugu abahutu bafite hakurikiywe demokarasi izira igitotsi n'amakemwa? Nyakubahwa Perezida, aha hari ikibazo kitifuza gukemurwa.

UMUGEREKA W'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA UBWA-BO

Ubwiyunge buzakorwa na nde? Namwe, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Perezida Fondateri wa MRND kurusha Mutara III Rudahigwa n'Inama ye y'igihugu kuko nta bumenyi buhagije bari bafite kuri icyo kibazo. Kigeri V n'abantu be nabo muzabarusha kuko icyo kibazo bashatse kugikemura kumena amaraso. Na Kayibanda muzamurusha kuko Parmehutu yatanguye amoko n'uturere.

Mu kurusha abobose, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, mufite amashyamba n'ishyamba yo kunga Abanyarwanda ubwabo, bitabaye ibyo, Manifeste programme na etati za MRND zagaragara nk'aho ari amagambo meza guha.

Icyo kibazo kihutirwa kandi giko-

meze cyane kizakemurwa gite?

«Sagamba! Sagamba! Sagamba! Hari umusizi w'umunyarwanda, ufite indirimbo izize «Sagamba» dutega amatwi twishimye kuri Radiyo Rwanda, cyane cyane mu bice bikurikira: «Sagamba urandura ibisigisigi By'amatiku n'amatiriganya mu Rwanda, Sagamba ushyigikiye n'urugamba, Uwica umugambi si Umunyarwanda». Uwo musizi w'umunyarwanda aratanga impinategako ishimishije y'umugereka wo kunga igihugu. Ariko cyane cyane, dutega amatwi y'u musizi wa kera w'ibakwe mu mugo ishi-kamye kandi yerekeza k'umutima wa Général Major Perezida wa Repubulika, Perezida wa MRND:

«Sugira Sagamba,
Hanga ubugeri,
Umugome ari k'umugosi
Umugomoke ari ku ngoma!»
Zirimo Nyamukurura,
Mukuru w'Ingoma,
Kurura wishyira,
Wange amadumbu».

Nyakubahwa Général Major, iki gisigo cyamamaye hose mu izina ryacyo «Sugira, Sagamba» kikaba icy'umusizi wo hambere, imikaraga yacyo yaje ingi-gisho ntangutse kuyigira ipanjye kugira ngo ayitwe umutima wanyu na raho yanyu, ayitwe abafasha banyu ba hafi, bahangayikishijwe kimwe namwe n'icya-zana amakoro, ubumwe, uburinganire n'ubwandimwe bw'Abanyarwanda bunze.

Yego Nyakubahwa,
«Sugira, Sagamba, Hunda ubugeri».

1. Sugira, «ba isugi, Muzumba bose» Uzabwira mbere n'igilego mu bana b'u Rwanda bashoboye guha u Rwanda amakoro kura rwabaho, rukabona ubumwe n'ubwandimwe mu bwiyunge bw'igihugu no mu mubwoko rusange w'amajyambere. «Bashakane isibo mu majyambere» Yego, Sugira, «ba isugi Mubwira Rwanda». Uzabwira igilego n'umubwizi wa mbere w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda rusukuye, rufite ingufu kubera ko rwanze ubumwe: Rwanda nshya. Pfukama ubare umunyarwanda mushya, Nyakubahwa! Yego, Sugira, «ube unze kandi utazane».
2. Sagamba, ba icyamamare cy'ubukombe.
3. Hunda ubugeri:

Kamere yanyu Nyakubahwa, izakungura kandi ibere Rwanda nziza; ibikorwa byabyu mwalangiyeye bizahurizwa

mu murima mwiza kandi mugari weze amajeri menshi. «Ukuzwe ubugeri»: Umunyarwanda mushya ufite itoto agatera irari.

Bizagenda bite? Hazakoreshewa ubuhe buryo?

«Umugome ari k'umugosi» Umugomoke ari ku ngoma. Nta bundi buryo. Yego, Nyakubahwa, abagome n'abagomoke k'urugamba rumwe, bese bambaye bimwe bakagira n'itwara zimwe, ni he haturuka ugutsinda?

Cyangwa na none nyuma y'ugutsinda kurukije, abatsinze n'abatsinzwe bagakurira ku maza amwe, ariko abo batsinzwe bafite inzika, ugutsinda kwaba kuvuze iki?

Yego, Nyakubahwa, Mwebwe n'u Rwanda mushaka guha indi sura, nti-mushobora «gusugira, gusagamba, guhunda ubugeri, umugome atari k'umugosi, umugomoke atari ku ngoma». Ntabwo bishoboka!

1. Umugome ni nde?
2. Umugomoke ni nde?
3. Umugome ari k'umugosi ari?
4. Umugomoke ari ku ngoma ari?

1. Umugome ni nde?

Ni uwo mututsi uhora yikuye, ufatanyaga n'umugaragu we w'umuhutu kimwe n'umututsi w'umuhutu bahunganye kubera ubugome bwabo none bakaba badahwema kugomera igihugu n'Abanyarwanda. Na none kandi ni uwo mututsi w'umunyarwanda n'umuhutu w'inkomamashyamba n'umuhutu uhorera gutegwa, bese basinze mayora nk'inzoka yiteguye kurya u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda bari mu icuraburindi. Ibi bice by'abatutsi uko ari bibiri byaherereyanye amakuru buri gihe kandi bikorana k'uburyo bw'ibanga, mu rwego rwo kwihorera kuri Repubulika, ngo abayishinze n'abayishyamba banze umwami.

Ni icyo nzoka y'igihindugembe ifite imitwe ibiri, umwe inyuma y'u Rwanda undi imbere. Nguwo umugome. Ukubaho kw'abantu gutwije guhakana kuriho rwoho.

2. Umugomoke ni nde?

Ni uwo Munyarwanda warangije kubona inzira ye mu byishimo kandi ubuzi hereze. Ashyigikiye Repubulika 100%. Ni Militant wa MRND akurikira kuri roho ya k'umutima. Ni Umunyarwanda mushya ufite roho yahanagutseho kumaze igomba gusuzugurika mu buhake. Ategereje cyane itegereye nshya rizamugenga muri Repubulika ya II. Nguwo umugomoke.

3. Umugome ari k'umugozi ate ?

Byaba ari umwanda, ubunyamaswa ndetse byaba bidakwiye ubugiraneza bwa Repubulika yacu, ubwo abaperezida icyo, ababungirije, baharanira bane amahoro n'ubumwe turamwese tugaruye umugome ntutari : kwica, gutemagura, kumanka ibinyira by'abo bagome mu rwego rwo kugaragaza ugushinda.

Uko mbikaka, umugome naramuka hagaragaye azahaniwa by'intangarugero n'amategeko y'itegeko-nahinga, amumwe, yamburwe ubwengehugu. Yaba hanze cyangwa mu gihugu, umugome ntakongere kubona Repubulika y'u Rwanda n'abayo, ntazongere na rimwe kuba Umunyarwanda. Nta kade mu Banyarwanda afitaye umujinya wo kuzica. Umutungo wuzaba umutungo w'igihugu.

Umugomoke ari ku ngoma ate ?

Kuri uwo munyarwanda mushya wishimye, amahoro, ubumwe, ubwami n'uburinganire bwa kicandimwe. Umuntu w'ubwami, w'amayeri yihariye nta wuhari : ubwami, runca, amayeri, ibinyoma.

Wa mutwe w'imibwa y'impigi, wica uko ahebuje w'umututsi obimutegaye nta kiriko.

Nta kiriko, wa mututsi w'umugaragu uteye agashyamba, uturunge gusa n'imiranga ya ahebuje w'umututsi.

Hehe n'abo bane kuko ubu ari Abanyarwanda bashya, bashyigikiye Repubulika bakaba n'aba militia ba MRND. Bane bafatanyije mu gushyamba Rwanda nshya. Nane rero, umugomoke nahabwwe u Rwanda n'ibizwe byarwo, n'inema z'arwo, n'ubwiza bwarwo mu mahoro, mu bumwe no mu majyambere (...)

Joseph Gitera Habyarimana.
(sé)

NDLR : Ibyo tutabagejejeho ni inama Gitera agira Perezida Habyarimana, iso nama ziri mu ngingo eshatu :

— Gukurura wishyira

— Gusenya amarumba

— Kwanga amadumbu

Izo nama Habyarimana Juvénal yaba yarazikurikije ?

Abifuzwa inyandiko ya Gitera mu rurimi rw'igifaransa, bashobora kuyisanga muri Kangura N°6 pp. 12, 13, 14, 15. Hagati aho ngaho turashimira umudepite waduhaye iyo nyandiko mu kwezi k'Ugushyingo 1990, akimara kubona ko iryo gitera yavuze ritashye. Tubitekerezeho !

N.J.

GOMN, UMUTWE W'ABASIRIKARI USHINZWE KUNEKERA INKOTANYI.

Abanyakigali cyangwa se abahaganda mukunze kubona imodoka zitagira «plaques» zizenguruka umugi. Zikunze kuba zanditseho amagambo ahinnye habe mu rurimi rw'igifaransa cyangwa se mu cyongereza. Amagambo yanditse kuri izo modoka z'amavetiri, amajipe, minibisi, ndetse no kuri Benz imwe, ni GOMN, NMOG, OUA cyangwa se OAU.

Abazigandamo ni abasirikari bane bambaye ingofero z'umweru zifite ikiranga ntaho cy'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA). Hafi y'abo basirikari bane ni ba ofisiye. Kubatandukanya birapoye kuko bane ari abirabura, nta muzungu ubarimo. Abazungu b'abasirikari mukunze kubona ni abafaransa baje kurengera bene wabo bari ino. Nti-muzabwiranywe rero.

Kumanya ko aho basirikari bo muri GOMN baturuka mu bihugu binyuranye, keretse ushishoje neza ku ntugu zabo kuko uhasanga amabendera y'ibihugu baturukamo. Uza-bona abaturuka muri Nijeriya, Senegali, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, ndetse n'inkotanyi izi za... vrais !

GOMN mu rurimi rw'igifaransa bivuye «Groupe d'Observateurs Militaires Neutres». Mu cyongereza

rero ayo magambo ahinduka NM-OG aribyo kuvuye mu magambo arambuye, «Neutral Military Observers Group». Tugenekereje mu kinyarwanda, twavuye ko bisobanura umutwe w'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye. Bayobowe n'«kinan» gikomoka muri Nijeriya. Nacyo gifite ipeti rya Général-Major. Uwo ni uwitwaga Eku-dayo Opaleye. Ntumbaze icyo iryo zina risobanura. Ntitwanavuye ko se yamwese nabi dore ko a-ko kazina ntaho kamwese n'ubwo bwose tutari icyo gasobanura.

Bene icyo umutwe w'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye, turayimenyereye kuva aho intambara itangiriyemo mu Kwakira 1990. Uriya mutwe wa Général-Major Ekundayo Opaleye ni uwa gatatu uje mu gihugu cyacu kugenzura imirwano. Inshingano ze bariye basirikari ni ukujya ku rugamba bakareba abashyamba abandi, bagatanga raporo mu muryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika dore ko ari wo wanabohereje. Ntabwo rero bashinzwe guhagarika imirwano. Impamvu zirumvikana. Ni bane cyane, kandi ni abasirikari bakuru kuburyo atari bo bafata imibunda ngo bajye mu myobo i ibyoya guhagarika imirwano bitururira.

ka ku bushake bw'abashyamba.

Gusa aba agome bari mu gihugu cyacu ari n'abahavuye, baranzwe cyane no kubogama. Babogamiye ku Nkotanyi ndetse bakazakomeye. Bazibwirira ibirindiro by'ingabo z'u Rwanda aho biri, abasirikari u Rwanda nufite, intwari n'ibindi byinshi by'amabanga ya gisirikari. Ku buryo inkotanyi iyo ziteye ziba zifite ibyamba ngombwa byose kugirango ibitero zigabye bize ari zimusiga. Twababwirye ko uriya mutwe uri mu Rwanda ari uwa gatatu witwaga ko utagira aho ubogamiye. Umutwe wabanje ino wari ugizwe n'abasirikari baturutse mu bihugu duhanga imibiri bifite aho bihuriye n'iyi intambara : hari mu abasirikari b'abazayiruka, abagande n'abanyarwanda. Uwo mutwe wari uyobowe n'umunyatanzaniya, Hachim Mbita, ufite ipeti rya Général. Uwo basirikari mukuru akaba akora muri OUA, aho ashinzwe guhosha intambara muri Afurika.

Ntacyo dupfuye n'uwo muvandimwe, ariko tubamenyesheje ko nta intambara n'imwe yari yahosha, ntiye-turunganya ! N'icyo mu Rwanda yamunaniye icyo. Azize kubogama. Kandi ga ni no kumurunganya. Na-

